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VOL. XXIX NO. 3

APRIL, 1924

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64-66 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

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Correspondence in regard to contributions to the REVIEW may be sent to the Managing Editor, J. Franklin Jameson, Carnegie Institution, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C., or to the Board of Editors. Books for review may be sent to the Managing Editor. Subscriptions should be sent to the Macmillan Company, Prince and Lemon Sts., Lancaster, Pa., or 66 Fifth Ave., New York. The price of subscription, to persons who are not members of the American Historical Association, is five dollars a year; single numbers are sold for \$1.50 (back numbers at the same rate); bound volumes may be obtained for \$7.50.

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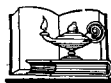
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THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION AT COLUMBUS

COMPUTED according to one of the two methods commonly employed in such determinations, the geographical centre of the membership of the American Historical Association lies some one hundred and fifty miles northeast of Columbus; computed according to the other method, it lies some one hundred miles to the northwest of that city. It may therefore be remarked, in passing, that in fixing the places where the migratory or alternating meetings of the society shall be held, to meet "in an Eastern city" is to meet in some place to the east of the longitude of Columbus, to meet "in a Western city" is to meet somewhere to the westward of that line. For the purposes of the present record, however, it suffices to note that Columbus is as near as any city can well be to the geographical centre of the society's membership; and as it is also an excellent railroad centre, and has a flourishing and hospitable university, there was every reason why the Thirty-eighth Annual Meeting, if held there, should be marked by an exceptionally large attendance. The registration showed in fact 424 names, a number surpassed only three times in the history of the Association, once at its twenty-fifth anniversary, at New York in 1909, once at Boston and Cambridge in 1912, and again (slightly) at Washington in 1915.

The attractive power of the place of meeting was doubtless reinforced by that of the programme, which, made by a committee of which Professor Elbert J. Benton, of Western Reserve University, was chairman, seemed when received by the members to be marked by unusual excellence, and proved itself so in the execution. Every chairman of a programme committee wishes and tries to avoid the evils of excessive congestion; none ever succeeds. He does well if he can restrain the zeal of specialists from increasing still further the number of sections and sessions and papers to be crowded into the allotted three days. In the present instance there were seventeen sessions and sixty-three papers—more than enough—and yet even so

it was not possible to provide for continuance of every sectional meeting that has been held on previous occasions. There was of course the usual session concerning the position and methods of history as a subject of instruction in the schools, for that topic, repetitious as much of the discussion of it often proves to be, is of too vital importance to the historical profession, and still more truly to the schools and the country, to permit it to be ignored. The sectional meeting on the history of law, well inaugurated at the New Haven meeting, was followed up by a highly successful session at Columbus. The rapid increase of interest which has of late been shown in diplomatic history was reflected in the devoting to it of one of the sectional meetings, of one of the general sessions which the Association is accustomed to hold in the evenings, when larger portions of the general public may be attracted to attend, and of three or four of the papers read in other sessions. The centennial anniversary of the Monroe Declaration of December, 1823, was celebrated by a sectional meeting devoted to contributions discussing various historical consequences of the policy then declared. The influence of Christian missions in various portions of history formed the subject of another sectional meeting. There was the usual conference of state and local historical societies, and the usual sessions devoted to medieval history, to modern history in general, to the history of England, and to that of the United States in the period of the Revolution, in the period since the Civil War, and in times of westward expansion.

The last-named was held as a joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, which commonly holds one of its semi-annual meetings at the same time and place as the older and more general society, and with the Ohio Valley Historical Association. The former body had also a subscription dinner, at the end of which Dr. Joseph Schafer, superintendent of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, read a commemorative address upon the Life and Work of Francis Parkman, marked by both admiration and discriminating judgment. The Agricultural History Society also had a dinner, at which Miss Ellen C. Semple, of Louisville, spoke on Agricultural History as a Fundamental Phase of Economic History, drawing her illustrations from the ancient Mediterranean world. At the formal dinner of the American Historical Association, on the first evening, there was none but brief speaking, an early conclusion being necessary in order that members might hear the presidential address of Professor Cheyney; but a pleasant greeting from the Canadian Historical Association was presented by its representative,

Professor Basil Williams, of McGill University, and Professor Peter Guilday, of the Catholic University of America, secretary of the American Catholic Historical Association, spoke, though briefly, with wit and eloquence and cordial feeling.

The last-named society, meeting for the fourth time at the same place with the American Historical Association, had, besides its practical conferences, three successful public sessions for papers in church history, among which may be especially mentioned those by Rev. M. G. Rupp, of St. Joseph, on Hugo Grotius and his Place in the History of International Peace, by Rev. John Rager, of Shelbyville, on Cardinal Bellarmine's Defence of Popular Government, and by Professor John R. Knipfing, of the Ohio State University, on Religious Tolerance during the Reign of Constantine the Great. Dr. Gaillard Hunt, of the Department of State, was chosen president of this society for the year 1924. A fuller account of the meeting of the Catholic society will appear in the April number of the *American Catholic Historical Review*; of the Mississippi Valley society, either in its *Proceedings* or in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*.

It should also be mentioned that the American Political Science Association, the National Council for the Social Studies, and the Ohio History Teachers' Association held meetings at the same time and place. With the Agricultural History Society there was a joint meeting, as usual, and there was a luncheon conference of the hereditary-patriotic societies, at which Mrs. Harris Hancock, of Cincinnati, described the achievements and purposes of the Colonial Dames of America, and Professor Carl Wittke, of the Ohio State University, discussed the question what can be done, by societies of this nature, toward aiding the organization of work in Ohio history.

Much the largest of these allied societies that convened in Columbus at the same time with the historical society was the American Political Science Association. The only joint session of these two was that held on the first evening, in the auditorium of the First Congregational Church, where a large audience listened with evident pleasure and admiration to the address on Law in History which Professor Edward P. Cheyney, of the University of Pennsylvania, read as president of the American Historical Association, and which we had the satisfaction of printing in our last number, and to the presidential address of President Harry A. Garfield, of the American Political Science Association, entitled Recent Political Developments: Progress or Change?¹

¹ Printed in the February number of the *American Political Science Review*.

Nearly all the other sessions of the convention were held within the hotel which had been chosen as headquarters, the Hotel Deshler; but those of the second forenoon, and the business meeting of the Association, that afternoon, were held at the Ohio State University. Between the two, the university hospitably entertained the Association to a luncheon, made additionally agreeable by speaking, over which Professor William McPherson, acting president of the university, presided.

After the business meeting, opportunity was given, by invitation of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, to inspect its collections, housed in a building, recently enlarged, on the university campus; unfortunately, the late hour to which the business meeting continued prevented many from visiting these interesting exhibits. On the evening of the same day a reception and smoker, much enjoyed, were given by this same society. There was also a hospitable reception for the ladies at the house of Professor George W. Knight, and on the first evening, after the presidential addresses, a general social gathering at the hotel, during which the Yale University Press presented, from its series of photoplays illustrative of American history, "Chronicles of America", the play relating to Vincennes and its capture. It should also be mentioned that the house privileges of the Athletic Club, hospitably extended by its committee, were enjoyed by many of the members.

For many of these *agréments* of the occasion, and for many others not here recorded, the Association was indebted, and formally expressed its gratitude, to the efficient Committee on Local Arrangements, of which Professor Wilbur H. Siebert, of the university, was chairman, and Professor John R. Knipfing secretary.

Of practical topics which engaged the Association's attention (as distinguished from the reading and hearing of papers contributory to the substance of history), no doubt the most important was that of the place of history in the schools. To this subject the whole of one of the general sessions was devoted, in the first afternoon, and this was preceded by a "joint luncheon conference" with the American Political Science Association and the National Council for the Social Studies. At the luncheon, Professor William B. Munro, of Harvard University, discussed the Place of Government in the Schools, meaning the place of political science—for in some of our universities it is the unhappy practice to call political science "government". Professor Herbert D. Foster, of Dartmouth, discussed the Place of History. Mr. Ray O. Hughes, of the Peabody High School in Pittsburgh, described and advocated a one-year course

called "Problems of Democracy", in which political and social science, economics, and history are mingled in the effort to teach pupils how to live in such a society as ours—a course which certainly makes great demands upon the teacher.

Educational discussion occupies fully the place, in the minds of the American public of the twentieth century, which theological discussion occupied in those of their seventeenth-century ancestors. Perhaps it is quite as fruitful in actual gains; but it suffers from the want of any authority comparable to that of Scripture. Hence, as President Cheyney pointed out that afternoon in a careful survey of the Association's activities, its efforts to define and advocate its policies in respect to the teaching of history in the schools have had an indefinite and unsatisfactory outcome; and uncertainty has been heightened by the emphasis placed on the other social studies by the National Education Association's report of 1916, and by the vigorous efforts made by the advocates of those studies to substitute them for history in school curricula. A tentative statistical report, made by Professor Edgar Dawson from the History Inquiry conducted by him (pages 299–300, *supra*), shows, among other things, that ancient history, medieval history, and English history, as subjects for separate courses, have been losing ground; that the one-year course in the history of the world, while popular in some quarters, does not seem as yet to have made much headway; that the tendency to give more time to the socialized discussion of current events seems to be growing; and that the training of teachers for the social studies, single or grouped, stands in sad need of greater attention. American educational authorities, indeed, seem to the present writer far too much concerned with curricula and methods, and far too little with the woeful insufficiency of the teachers.

As to the adjustment of the rival claims of competing social studies, Professor Cheyney deprecated both indifference or isolation and contention, but advocated co-operation. And indeed the Committee on History Teaching in the Schools, as reported by its chairman, Professor William E. Lingelbach, of the University of Pennsylvania, has been vigorously pursuing efforts toward co-operation with the representatives of other social sciences, and advocates continuance of a constructive policy of this sort. The recommendations of his committee, toward such co-operation, and toward further study of the problems involved, especially that of the training of teachers, and that of college entrance requirements and freshman courses, were cordially adopted by the Association in its business meeting.

Another school matter which aroused genuine interest was that of the bitter assaults which in recent years have so frequently been made on many of our best historical text-books. Miss Bessie L. Pierce, assistant professor in the University of Iowa, in a straightforward and instructive paper on that subject, traced the history of the anti-British propaganda carried on so extensively and unscrupulously by Charles Grant Miller in the Hearst papers, and of the active campaign, which ill-informed patriotic societies have often aided, against fairness and in favor of chauvinism. That censorship by narrow minds over history as presented by trained scholars to whom truth is supreme met with no favor in the American Historical Association was shown not only by the hearty applause which greeted Miss Pierce's remarks, but also by the manifest warmth with which, in the business meeting, the Association approved and adopted resolutions prepared by a committee of the Executive Council. Their text follows:

Whereas, there has been in progress for several years an agitation conducted by certain newspapers, patriotic societies, fraternal orders, and others, against a number of school text-books in history and in favor of official censorship, and

Whereas, this propaganda has met with sufficient success to bring about not only acute controversy in many cities but the passage of censorship laws in several states, therefore,

Be it resolved by the American Historical Association, upon the recommendation of its Committee on History Teaching in the Schools and of its Executive Council, that genuine and intelligent patriotism, no less than the requirements of honesty and sound scholarship, demand that text-book writers and teachers should strive to present a truthful picture of past and present, with due regard to the different purposes and possibilities of elementary, secondary, and advanced instruction; that criticism of history text-books should therefore be based not upon grounds of patriotism but only upon grounds of faithfulness to fact as determined by specialists or tested by consideration of the evidence; that the cultivation in pupils of a scientific temper in history and the related social sciences, of a spirit of inquiry and a willingness to face unpleasant facts, are far more important objectives than the teaching of special interpretations of particular events; and that attempts, however well meant, to foster national arrogance and boastfulness and indiscriminate worship of national "heroes" can only tend to promote a harmful pseudo-patriotism; and

Be it further resolved, that in the opinion of this Association the clearly implied charges that many of our leading scholars are engaged in treasonable propaganda and that tens of thousands of American school teachers and officials are so stupid or disloyal as to place treasonable text-books in the hands of children is inherently and obviously absurd; and

Be it further resolved, that the successful continuance of such an agitation must inevitably bring about a serious deterioration both of text-books and of teaching, since self-respecting scholars and teachers will not stoop to the methods advocated.

Another session of practical import was the Conference of State and Local Historical Societies, a semi-autonomous body which meets annually for consideration of the special problems of its constituents. The question of a handbook of such societies, for purposes of reference, was considered, and that of the continuation of Mr. A. P. C. Griffin's bibliography of the American historical societies. That bibliography stops at 1905, and a continuation bringing it down to the present time would be useful, but means for executing it seem not yet to have been discovered, and the serial continuance from 1906 of Miss Griffin's admirable annual bibliography, *Writings on American History*, makes it less necessary. Papers were read in this conference on Types of Organization which secure Efficiency, by Dr. Harlow Lindley, director of the Indiana Historical Commission, and on Outstanding Activities of the Historical Societies during the years 1920-1923, by Professor Dixon R. Fox, of Columbia University. Mr. William B. Shaw, of the *American Review of Reviews*, contributed by invitation a very profitable survey, entitled Historical Society Magazines as viewed by an Outsider, in which he treated of their increasing number and importance (increasing especially in the Middle West, Far West, and South), their varying relations to the public and their state governments, their opportunities to encourage research, their contents and the subjects that they treat or might treat—all without the obtrusion of advice or criticism, but with many helpful suggestions expressed or implicit. The conference elected Mr. Addison E. Sheldon, superintendent of the Nebraska Historical Society, as its chairman for the next year.

Difficult as it is to form any general estimate, when so many papers were read at this Columbus meeting, on subjects so diverse, it seemed that on the whole the total contribution of new results of historical investigation was on this occasion exceptionally great. Still more difficult is it to give, in the brief space allowable, any very helpful account of papers so various. None lay in the field of ancient history or in that of the early history of Christianity, and only one in the earlier part of medieval history. In the session devoted to the influence of missions in history, Professor Howard M. Stuckert, of the Ohio State University, presented a paper on the Cultural Influence of Monastic Missions upon the Celtic and German Tribes, in the centuries from the fifth to the ninth. Combatting traditional views, he held that, in the matter of agriculture and the economic life as a whole, the influence of the missionaries had been much overrated, in comparison, for instance, with that of the merchants who usually preceded them.

In a study of the Beginnings of English Self-Government, Professor Albert B. White, of the University of Minnesota, set forth the results of a detailed examination of the common people's share in government in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, especially the unpaid use in judicial procedure of persons not official. In all, more than eighty quite regular uses of such persons have been found in these twenty-five years, in more than fifteen hundred instances. Looked upon as a normal function in the life of the citizen and continued for centuries, such service may have gone far toward creating the modern Englishman's governmental sense. An allied theme was considered by Professor Carl Stephenson, of the University of Wisconsin, in a comparative study of the Origin of Representative Government in England, France, and Germany. While by the twelfth century, in all three countries, towns had secured exemption from the arbitrary exactions—of tallages and the like imposts—which lords made from their rustic dependents, extraordinary aids, *tailles*, *Beden*, were demanded on a great variety of occasions. That view is best supported, the writer held, which derives the origin of representative government from the superior convenience of collective bargaining in respect to these occasional exactions.

In the sectional meeting occupied with legal history, two papers had to do with medieval England, that of Miss Nellie Neilson, professor in Mount Holyoke College, on Custom and the Common Law in Kent, and that of Mr. Theodore F. T. Plucknett, of the Harvard Law School, on the Case of the Miscreant Cardinal (1382). Among the fields of law and custom that lay outside the common law in medieval England, an important place belongs to that of regional customs. Among such, the Custom of Kent had a unique position in that it was recognized by the king's courts as having in Kent the force which the common law—in the main the law of military tenements—had elsewhere. It extended to land approved from sea and waste. Miss Neilson described its essential features, and its relation to the older rural arrangements. The "Miscreant Cardinal" of Mr. Plucknett's case was none other than Count Peter of Geneva, who in the course of an adventurous career was bishop of Thérouanne, chancellor of Amiens, bishop of Cambrai, cardinal priest, rector of Wearmouth—the church involved in the case—treasurer of York, and finally schismatic pope, "Clement VII." The case, briefly reported in Fitzherbert's *Abridgment* and more fully in a manuscript in the library of Lincoln's Inn, derives special interest from the speech of a justice of the Court of Common Pleas, in which he asserted advanced doctrine concerning control over church courts,

and declared it to be good law that, just as a man forfeited his lands for treason against the king, so also should he suffer forfeiture for misbelief, which is treason against God—forfeiture for heresy twenty years earlier than the earliest instance hitherto known.

A paper in the legal history section which came down into quite modern times was that of Professor Edwin F. Albertsworth, of the Law School of Western Reserve University, on the Common Law and the Idea of Progress. His view was that the idea of progress, evolved out of various sources but dominant in the philosophy of the present day in all fields of thought, is profoundly affecting the common law, inclining judicial opinion toward a more liberal view of innovations upon the legal order, and promoting enactments that lay new premises and eliminate old legal dogmas—undermining the abstract notion of human equality, favoring economic progress, fostering paternalism, increasing the use of scientific methods, reacting from the doctrine of precedents, and striving for uniformity among the states.

Mr. Thomas F. Carter, of Columbia University, in a paper on How the Knowledge of Printing was carried Westward from China, described first the westward progress of paper, invented in China at the beginning of the second century A. D. and traceable westward through Chinese Turkestan, Samarkand, Egypt, and Spain into western Europe; also, with less certainty, the development of block-printing, begun in China in the eighth and ninth centuries and in Europe toward the close of the fourteenth; but whether and how the invention of movable metallic type came to Europe from China, where clay, wooden, and metallic type have early and datable origins, was necessarily left obscure.

In a paper on the Crime of Witchcraft, Professor George L. Burr, of Cornell University, first described the materials for a history of witchcraft accumulated by the late Henry C. Lea, which Mr. Burr is engaged in bringing into a shape suitable for publication, and then set forth the distinctions between the crime of witchcraft—the pact with Satan, which is the theme of the proposed book—and sorcery or magic or the sin of witchcraft. The remainder of the paper was given to the clearing away of such misconceptions as that the delusion was a mere survival from the Middle Ages; that it belonged mainly to Catholic or to Protestant lands, or that it was but an outbreak of a world-wide and immemorial superstition.

Another *kulturgeschichtlich* paper in the same general period of transition was that of Professor Albert Hyma, of the University of North Dakota, on the Brethren of the Common Life and their Influ-

ences on the Reformation. Contending that European historians had failed to estimate properly the history and importance of the Brethren of the Common Life, Mr. Hyma passed in review the religious and educational work of Gerard Groote, John Cele, and Wessel Gansfort, at Deventer and Zwolle, that of the Congregation of Windesheim and the many schools maintained by the Brethren in Rhenish regions, and claimed for them a greater influence than had hitherto been allowed, on Luther and Erasmus and Calvin and even Loyola.

Turning again to English history, we record first a paper by Professor Frederick C. Dietz, of the University of Illinois, on the Church Lands as a Determining Factor in English History in the period 1547-1559, in which he maintained that no other explanation of the decisions then made was adequate but that which traced them to the determination of the great nobles and gentry to retain their hold upon the vast properties which had belonged to the Church. The seizure of those lands could be justified only with the help of Protestant theology, and, as the experience of Mary's reign had shown, their possession could be absolutely assured only through the rejection of any connection with Rome. In the same session, Miss Frances H. Relf, professor in Wells College, in an Illustration of Buckingham's Parliamentary Methods, showed from the manuscript notes of Henry Elsing that on both occasions in the struggle of 1628 when the Lords took adverse action upon the Petition of Right, that result was due to finesse and trickery on Buckingham's part, the majority of the Lords in reality agreeing with the majority of the Commons in the effort to restrict the king's prerogative.

Of three papers in French history, that of Professor Clyde L. Grose, of Northwestern University, bore upon Louis XIV.'s Financial Relations with Charles II. and the English Parliament. French money was used more largely in subsidies to the king than in bribes to members of Parliament, and in the former case for doing things which were in reality agreeable to the recipient as well as to the donor. Bribes to members of Parliament were never more than measurably successful. Professor Louis R. Gottschalk, of the University of Louisville, discussed Communism during the French Revolution, meaning the agitation that went on from 1789 to 1793, and even later, for an agrarian law providing for a more or less nearly equal distribution of property. No newspaper, no club or patriotic society, no party in the legislative bodies advocated such a measure, yet the fear of it was profound and extensive, largely because of a loose usage of *loi agraire* (with reminiscence of the Gracchi) to designate all, even mild, projects of social reform. Some members

of the Convention, notably Barère, caught at the panic fear as a possible means of bringing Girondins and Jacobins into concord, but in vain. Thirdly, Professor Hugo C. M. Wendel, of New York University, studied with many legislative details the Evolution of Industrial Freedom along the Rhine, 1789-1815, specifically, the application to that region of the French legislation of 1791 abolishing guilds and the Napoleonic law of 1803 regulating relations between employer and employed. These laws, it was shown, came into operation in Alsace automatically and, after 1798, in the northward portions of the Left Bank. On the Right Bank, the liberal industrial principles of France were introduced into the Grand-duchy of Berg under Murat, and the Napoleonic régime of regulation after the emperor himself took over the administration. In the Grand-duchy of Frankfort, though all corporations were declared abolished in 1810, the prince-primate Dalberg had not completed the régime of industrial freedom when the Empire fell.

In a contribution on the Colonial Policy of Gladstone's First Ministry, 1868-1874, Professor Paul Knaplund, of the University of Wisconsin, maintained that Gladstone and his colonial secretaries, with no desire for secession of the colonies, were governed by practical rather than theoretical considerations in each instance where they seemed by concessions to weaken the bonds of empire, that the withdrawal of British troops from colonies to which responsible government had been accorded was a necessary corollary to that grant, that resistance to aggressive expansion was the path of wisdom, and that recent events and the recent evolution of the British Commonwealth of Nations have justified Gladstone's trust in freedom as the strongest imperial tie.

No group of papers aroused more general interest than the three which were read in the second evening's session, devoted to the recent diplomatic history centring around the World War; and with this we may also join, as of exceptional interest in the same field, the account of Impressions of Soviet Russia on a Historian, by Professor Frank A. Golder, of Stanford University. In the first of the three papers indicated, Professor Joseph V. Fuller, of Wisconsin, under the title Bismarck and Europe, 1871-1890, reconsidered the foreign policy of Bismarck as imperial chancellor in the light of later events and of new materials, especially of the great German collection, *Die Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette*. Bismarck's premises were that France was irreconcilable after her defeat, and that the new German Empire was a "saturated state", having no interests beyond those already satisfied by the time of its formation. The

speaker traced the anxious efforts for alliances that should insure against any hostile coalition, the gravitation to Austria after vain efforts to hold both Austria and Russia, the embarrassments with Great Britain arising as German colonial expansion progressed, the instability of the whole system. His conclusion was that it was Bismarck, rather than his successors, who created for his country the entanglements, dilemmas, and compromising settlements which betrayed it to disaster.

The address on Triple Alliance and Triple Entente, 1902-1914, which was given by Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt, of Western Reserve University, is that which we have the pleasure of printing on later pages of this same number. The third of these contributions was that of Professor Charles Seymour, of Yale University, on Relations Official and Unofficial between the American and British Governments, 1914-1918. For the period before the entrance of the United States into the war, he reviewed briefly the causes of dispute. Then, when questions of speedy and effective co-operation assume the first place, he traced the development of means for that purpose—the Balfour Mission, the Northcliffe Mission, the coming of Lord Reading to take charge of the problems of finance and supply, the mission of Colonel House and representatives of the chief American financial and supply boards to work out a system of co-operation. The system thus framed, he declared, insured a minimum of red tape, a maximum of speed, a degree of frankness between representatives of two different governments probably unexampled in history, a heightening of America's influence in the councils of the allies, and those frank discussions of the problems of naval competition that made possible the success of the Washington Conference.

Professor Golder's very interesting remarks on Soviet Russia were based on prolonged travels in that country between August, 1921, and May, 1923. Mr. Golder, it may be remembered, was also in Russia during the revolution of 1917, and gave an enlightening account of it at the Cleveland meeting of 1919. In 1921, he reported, the situation was widely different. The high hopes had faded. In whatever direction one looked he saw nothing but economic disorganization, social degradation, misery, discouragement, famine, and death. Many of the historians had died of starvation and disease, and the survivors were stunned, terrorized, and pessimistic. The development of the New Economic Policy during 1922 brought back life and courage in all fields of human endeavor, and it looked as if Russia would soon recover economically and morally. But the Communists saw with dismay a return to capitalism, and put into force

such repressive measures that in 1923 the situation was less hopeful than in the year before. By whom shall the history of the Russian Revolution, one of the greatest events of modern history, be written? Historians in Russia are precluded from the use of anti-communist material, little pro-communist literature is to be had in western Europe; Americans, thanks to the co-operation of the American Relief Association and the personal interest and generosity of Mr. Hoover, have in the Hoover War Collection at Palo Alto an important collection of all kinds of material, red and white, available for their disinterested investigation. Mr. Golder's part in the collecting of that material is doubtless known to many readers.

In the same session Mr. John H. Wuorinen, of the State University of Iowa, elucidated the International Aspects of the Baltic Sea, particularly those of the period since the World War. He adverted to the recent attempts to form some sort of league including the five now independent states and Sweden. Although a defensive alliance between Esthonia and Latvia has been arranged, he judged that anything more extensive was for the present blocked by Swedish passivity, Finnish caution, and the Polish-Lithuanian *impasse*.

Of contributions in the field of American history, three were grouped in a session devoted to the period of the Revolution. The paper by Professor Lawrence H. Gipson, of Wabash College, on Taxation and Social Unrest in Connecticut in the years from 1760 to 1775, was an effort to discover how largely the unrest which unquestionably characterized the period was caused by the exceptional taxation due to the Seven Years' War. The taxes look heavy, but they were paid in depreciated bills of credit, in some cases were never paid, while the funds for reimbursement that came over from Parliament nearly equalled all that was spent, and were so managed as to cover all the expenses of government in the colony during the later years of the war.

Under the topic Educational Influences in the American Revolution, Professor Marcus W. Jernegan, of the University of Chicago, presented many statistics to show such facts as that more than half of the earlier members of the Continental Congress and seventy per cent. of those who drafted the chief state papers had attended colleges or other institutions of higher education. Seven signers of the Declaration of Independence had studied law at the Inns of Court in London. The legal education of Americans in the preceding period was indeed of great importance in a revolution turning so largely on legal questions; but of 178 who between 1730 and 1783 studied law abroad, 157 came from five Middle or Southern colonies and only eleven from New England.

Dr. Orlando W. Stephenson, of the University of Michigan, presented the results of a careful statistical inquiry into the Supply of Powder in 1776 and 1777. Briefly, he found the total quantity on hand in the scattered colonial magazines and in private possession, when the war broke out, to have been about 80,000 pounds, the amount made locally, during the first two and a half years, about 115,000 pounds. An amount well over two million pounds was imported, nearly all of it from France by way of the West Indies. But for these imported supplies the Revolution would have run its course long before the fall of 1777.

Of a group of five papers relating to the early diplomatic history of the United States, that of Professor Samuel F. Bemis, of Whitman College, on British Secret Service and the French-American Alliance, appears in later pages of the present issue of this journal. Dr. J. F. Jameson described the correspondence of the Early British Ministers to the United States with their principals in London and other British officials and subjects, and the plans of the Carnegie Institution of Washington for its publication. Professor James A. James, of Northwestern University, dealt with French Opinion as a Factor in preventing War between France and the United States, 1796-1800, in a paper which we shall have the pleasure of printing later, basing his conclusions chiefly on the reports made to Talleyrand by Louis-Guillaume Otto and Victor Du Pont. We are also to print the paper by Dr. Frederick Merk, of Harvard University, entitled *New Light on the Oregon Boundary Question*, illuminating especially the process by which Great Britain was led to give up the Columbia River boundary. In the same session, Professor Frank E. Melvin, of the University of Kansas, read a paper, based on careful study of materials in French and American archives, on the American Factor in the Napoleonic Struggle, maintaining that, in the diplomatic fencing of 1810 over the applications of the Continental System, it was not Madison who was deceived.

In the session devoted to legal history, in a paper falling within the middle period of United States history, Mrs. Ralph C. H. Catterall, of New York, presented, as *A By-product of the Law*, an illustrative specimen of the work in American legal history which she is carrying on for the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington. That work consists in a compilation of all the material for the history of American slavery—narratives, documents, opinions—which are to be found in the law reports. The matter presented at Columbus was that of three related series of cases in the Missouri Reports, one dealing with Indian

slavery in the Mississippi Valley in the eighteenth century, one with the question of the existence of slavery in Canada before the Revolution, and the third showing the evolution of judicial opinion in regard to the status of the slave who sets foot on free soil, and culminating in the Dred Scott case. The paper will appear later in these pages.

In the hundredth December after the promulgation of President Monroe's famous declaration, it was natural that one sectional meeting should consist of papers related in some manner to that event. Two of the papers read were historical in character; the other two were, as is so often the case in our Latin-American sessions, publicistic, devoted to discussion of our present-day relations with Spanish America. Professor Charles E. Chapman, of the University of California, dealt with European Expansion and the Monroe Doctrine. He brought to mind the enormous acquisitions made since 1823 in Asia, Africa, and Oceania by the European powers—six million square miles of territory and more than two hundred million inhabitants added to the empire of Great Britain, six million square miles and more than sixty-seven million inhabitants to that of France, and so forth—pointed out that the same causes and processes that had brought about interventions and annexations in the eastern hemisphere had been applicable to the western, and drew the inference that, if European imperialism, which had run riot in America during the opening years of the nineteenth century, and which ran riot everywhere else from that time to the present, had since 1823 let America alone, it must presumably have been in great part because of the Monroe Doctrine and the power of the United States behind it.

Dr. J. Fred Rippy, of the University of Chicago, offered a contribution to the study of Hispanic American feeling toward the various applications of the Monroe Doctrine by the United States, by studying the reactions of the organs of Mexican public opinion in 1895–1896 to President Cleveland's Venezuelan Message. Professor J. Moreno-Lacalle, of Middlebury College, discussed the extent and causes of Latin American dislike toward the United States, and its relation to the Monroe Doctrine. Professor Isaac J. Cox, of Northwestern University, under the title *Monroeism and Pan-Americanism*, set forth the views of those who would have the Doctrine broadened into a Pan-American policy.

On the other side of the United States, Canada came in for a share of attention through a paper on *Some American Influences upon the Canadian Federation Movement*, by Professor Reginald G.

Trotter, of Stanford University. The mere existence of the United States as a successful example of large-scale federation had been an inspiration to those who dreamt of uniting the British provinces. In the framing of the Canadian constitution, the effort was made to profit by United States experience, especially by allotting unmistakably to the central government the paramount political power. The desire to insure the British connection was sharpened by apprehension of aggression from the republic to the southward, lately grown into a great military power. Altogether, some of the modern dominion's most striking characteristics are in no small measure due to the near presence, since the eighteenth century, of the expanding American republic.

Of contributions to the history of individual states, one, by Mr. Lewis D. Stilwell, of Dartmouth College, described the Types of Emigrants from Vermont, 1783-1860, to the westward. The economic and other reasons for leaving Vermont were first described. Those who migrated were largely young people between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. Mr. Stilwell classified the migrants instructively on grounds of occupation, relation to land-titles, religion, and other characteristics. Professor E. Merton Coulter, of the University of Georgia, recounted the history of the First Kentucky Constitution, the prolonged period of political discussion allowed by the many delays in securing separation from Virginia, the struggle between the landed aristocracy and the frontier democracy, and the resulting compromises in the constitution—manhood suffrage, religious freedom, representation based on population, for the democrats; for the conservative element, indirect election of governor, senators, and judges. Professor Charles M. Knapp, of Kalamazoo Normal College, read a paper on New Jersey and States' Rights; Professor Ulrich B. Phillips, of the University of Michigan, one on the Persistency of Sectionalism in the Politics of Mississippi, in which, with the aid of maps, he showed that, despite the absence in modern times of any considerable party but the Democratic, it was possible to trace a continuing sectional alignment of voters. The counties which gave Whig majorities in 1848 were generally carried by the Republicans in 1868, and went against Vardaman in the senatorial primary of 1922—mainly western counties, fertile, well-to-do, the "black belt". In the regions of infertile soil, on the other hand, the Populists found their only foothold, and there the Vardamanites live to-day.

Themes in the economic history of the Far West occupied two other papers, that of Professor Ralph P. Bieber, of Washington

University, St. Louis, on Overland Commerce by way of the Santa Fe Trail, 1848-1880, and that of Professor Louis Pelzer, of the Iowa State University, on a Cattleman's Commonwealth on the Western Range. Mr. Bieber described the advances in overland commerce brought about by the annexations of 1848, its influence in developing the new Southwest, in cementing it to the Union, and in marking out the great routes for railroads. Mr. Pelzer described the organization, growth, and activities of the Wyoming Stockgrowers' Association, which for fifteen years, 1873-1887, exercised from its capital at Cheyenne the functions of a state, controlled the great ranges and the leading industry of the region, and in its last years represented a cattle business of more than a hundred million dollars.

It has already been mentioned that there was one joint session of the American Historical Association and its scion the Agricultural History Society. In that session, after introductory remarks by its chairman, Dr. Joseph Schafer, on the origin and history of the younger body, Mr. Charles E. Thorne, of Wooster, Ohio, spoke on the Development and Influence of Agricultural Experiment Stations in the United States, especially their influence on the minds of farmers, on the furthering of scientific research, and on increase of the food production of the land. Mr. John G. Thompson, of Washington, D. C., spoke on Some Phases of the Cityward Movement as illustrated from Ohio History, endeavoring to show statistically that the change from a prevailingly rural to a prevailingly urban status had not injuriously affected either religion or morals, and, in the field of politics, that the cityward movement did not retard the growth of democratic principles in Ohio. Mr. M. K. Cameron, of the University of Oregon, spoke on the history of the tobacco industry in Ohio.

One of the papers in the section considering the influence of Christian missions in history, that of Mr. Stuckert, has already been described. Of the remaining three, one was in the field of the Near East, one in that of the Far East, and the third in a recent period of American history. Professor Albert H. Lybyer, of the University of Illinois, treated of the Influence of American Christian Missions in Turkey. He traced the history of the purely missionary work from 1820, of the educational work from 1840, of the medical work from before the arrival in 1859 of the first medical missionary who was not a clergyman. He showed by impressive figures the great extent of the achievement in all three of these lines. He described the economic influence exerted by the introduction of new methods and articles of commerce, and, among other results, the building up

for the United States of a high reputation in the Near East, the immigration into America of many members of the growing Protestant community, and the education of many Americans through missionaries' efforts into some knowledge of the Near East. He also set forth in detail the effects of the World War and subsequent events on American missions in the parts of the old Ottoman Empire now subject to mandates and in the parts remaining to Turkey, respectively.

Mr. Tyler Dennett, of Washington, discussed the Influence of Christian Missions in the Far East in the Nineteenth Century. He described on the one hand the influence of missionaries and the missionary constituency at home on the political conduct of the Western nations toward the countries of the Far East, and on the other hand the effects exerted by missionary action in the Orient itself. There the missionary was the most aggressive factor in the opening of the interior to residence and travel of foreigners. The insistence on Christian virtues, the introduction of Western learning, literature, medicine, methods, and views of life had had an influence which could be only partially evaluated at present; there had also been, especially in China, a destructive influence on local and national government and social organization.

The paper dealing with missionary history within the United States was that of Miss Martha L. Edwards, of the University of Wisconsin, on the Influence of Missions upon President Grant's Indian Policy. Despite the settled American policy of separation of churches and state, precedents for use of religious organizations in dealing with governmental Indian problems run back to 1789, and still more distinctly to the invoking of the aid of missionary societies in 1819. For many years before the Civil War and the Sioux outbreak of 1862 the moral aspects of the matter had been much neglected. President Grant resolved to confer upon the Society of Friends the right of nomination to all Indian agencies, and later, to secure sufficient numbers, invoked similar aid from other religious bodies. Such a method of appointment to civil office involved spheres of sectarian influence and led to some bitter controversies. The plan was therefore short-lived, ending in 1881, but the experiment left enduring results upon the management of Indian affairs.

Let us now turn from this chronicle of papers, of which only certain portions can be of interest to any individual member, to the reporting of the business meeting, whose transactions are or should be of interest to all members of the Association. The proceedings seemed livelier and more interesting, less perfunctory in character,

than usual. There was some real discussion. The resolutions respecting the teaching of history in schools, and its relation to other social portions of the curriculum, have already been mentioned, also the emphatic declaration for freedom of the scholarly mind in the making of text-books.

The secretary reported a membership, on December 15, of 2578. This represents a loss of fourteen members during the year. The society's maximum of membership was reached in 1915. Though some of that maximum was due to a greater indulgence than is now shown in keeping upon the rolls the names of members delinquent in respect to the payment of dues, it remains true that other societies of like character have grown more rapidly, and that the number of members in this association might without excessive effort be pushed up to a much larger figure. Members were urged at the meeting, and are here urged again, to exert themselves toward this end.

The treasurer's report showed net receipts of \$14,833, against net expenditures of \$13,325. A summary of this report, together with the budget voted for 1924, is printed at the end of this article. The par value of the Endowment Fund was stated to be \$40,050, exclusive of \$1200 more in the *American Historical Review* Fund. One of the most interesting actions of the Executive Council was the resolve to prosecute in 1924 a campaign for the increase of the endowment from this figure to \$100,000. A committee to plan and carry on this campaign was instituted. Members or readers who have useful suggestions to make in this matter are urged to send them to the chairman of the committee, Mr. Charles Moore, or to any of the other members. Their names will be found in the list of committees which, according to custom, is appended to this article. It is hoped that the members of the Association will exert themselves to assist the committee. With such help, it ought to be possible without too much difficulty, in so rich a country, to raise the amount desired. An analysis of the treasurer's report will readily show that, while the annual dues from members will defray all the running expenses of the society and support the *American Historical Review*, it is income from endowments that must be relied on to sustain those varied historical activities, chiefly in the furthering and publication of researches, which the society has been so eager to carry on. These have of late been grievously hampered by the heightened costs of research and of printing. For some years past, it has not seemed practicable to vote any appropriation whatever to the Historical Manuscripts Commission, the Public Archives Commission, or several other of the society's committees that have done important work for

the advancement of history. The Association must not suffer such works of investigation to languish, but if it is to do its duty by them it must have great enlargement of permanent resources.

Reports from various committees were submitted, as also an informal one by Professor Herbert E. Bolton on behalf of the Pacific Coast Branch. The committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize reported a recommendation that the prize should be divided between Mrs. Mary Hume McGuire, of Wellesley College, for an essay on the History of the Oath Ex Officio in England, and Dr. John T. McNeill, of Knox College, Toronto, for an essay on the Celtic Penitentials and their Influence on Continental Christianity.² Honorable mention was made of Dr. Ralph H. Lutz's *The German Revolution, 1918-1919*.³ The George Louis Beer Prize, for the "best work upon any phase of European international history since the year 1895", awarded this year for the first time, was also divided, between Professor Edward M. Earle, of Columbia University, for his book on *Turkey, the Great Powers, and the Bagdad Railway*,⁴ and Mr. Walter R. Batsell, of Harvard, on the Mandatory System: its Historical Background and Relation to the New Imperialism. Professor Dutcher, for the Committee on Bibliography, announced the prospect of completing in the near future the new *Guide to Historical Literature*. Means for carrying out the design for a series of Studies in European History not having been found since its proposal by the Committee on Policy in 1920, the committee on that project was discharged.

On the recommendation of the Council it was voted that the Association should meet in Richmond in the closing days of December, 1924, with a session of one day (*sc.* Saturday, December 27) in Washington, if the Committee on Arrangements and the Committee on Programme decide that such a meeting is advisable.^{4a} In the interest of the next programme the Council has voted to request that all breakfasts and luncheons of the alumni of individual universities shall be so arranged as to end before the hours set for the beginning of any sessions in the Association's programme.

It was voted that, in some sort of return for the Anglo-American Conference of Professors of History held at the University of London in July, 1921,⁵ an Anglo-American Conference of a similar sort

² Paris, Champion, 1923.

³ See pp. 337-339, above.

⁴ New York, 1923.

^{4a} It has since been decided by vote of the Council to hold the entire meeting at Richmond, beginning December 27.

⁵ See *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVII. 58-63.

should be made a feature of this next annual meeting. It is expected that the presence of a number of distinguished British historical scholars—from England, Scotland, and Ireland—may be secured, and that the occasion will be made one of much interest to the members of the Association, and may be, as the conference of 1921 certainly was, profitable to historical interests on both sides of the water. A special committee of arrangements was appointed.

A request from the International Committee of Historical Science appointed by the Brussels Congress,⁶ that the Association should appoint a representative to serve for the United States on that committee, was acceded to by the Council, and Messrs. James T. Shotwell and Waldo G. Leland, both now in Europe, were authorized to act as such representatives, acting together or singly as occasion may require. An appeal for books for the library of the University of Tokio, gravely damaged by earthquake, was read; the Association is sending what it can of its own publications.

In the annual election, Honorable Woodrow Wilson, hitherto first vice-president, was elected president of the Association, Professor Charles M. Andrews first vice-president, Professor Dana C. Munro second vice-president. By the death of Mr. Wilson on February 3, the duties of the presidency devolve on Mr. Andrews. Professor Bassett and Mr. Moore were re-elected secretary and treasurer, respectively. Two new members were elected to the Council, Professors Charles H. McIlwain, of Harvard, and Arthur M. Schlesinger, of Iowa. The Committee on Nominations elected for the ensuing year consisted of Professor Wallace Notestein, chairman, Arthur C. Cole, Frances G. Davenport, Charles D. Hazen, and E. Raymond Turner.

The Executive Council elected Professor Francis A. Christie a member of the Board of Editors of this journal in succession to Professor Munro. A full list of committee assignments for 1924 follows this article.

J. F. J.

⁶ *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVIII. 654.

SUMMARY OF TREASURER'S REPORT

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand December 1, 1922.....		\$5,248.15
Receipts to date:		
Annual dues	\$12,507.10	
Interest, Endowment Fund.....	1,489.82	
Interest, bank account.....	70.80	
Publications	145.52	
Royalties	69.52	
Registration fees	180.50	
Contribution for printing programme.....	140.83	
Committee on Bibliography of Modern English History	183.66	
Miscellaneous	45.06	14,832.81
Total receipts.....		<u>\$20,080.96</u>

EXPENDITURES

Office of Secretary and Treasurer.....	\$2,959.87	
Pacific Coast Branch.....	25.50	
Committee on Nominations.....	53.95	
Committee on Membership.....	5.00	
Committee on Programme.....	358.04	
Committee on Local Arrangements.....	56.25	
Committee on Agenda.....	181.92	
Executive Council.....	339.28	
Committee on Bibliography.....	761.83	
Committee on Publications.....	595.97	
Conference of Historical Societies.....	25.00	
Writings on American History.....	200.00	
American Council of Learned Societies.....	152.37	
Committee on Historical Research in Colleges....	42.50	
Justin Winsor Prize.....	200.00	
American Historical Review.....	7,030.19	
Transferred to savings account for Committee on Bibliography of Modern English History.....	308.66	
Cash advances to Endowment Fund.....	28.19	13,324.52
Cash balance December 1, 1923.....		<u>\$ 6,756.44</u>

ENDOWMENT FUNDS

	Cost	Par value
Principal account.....	\$32,367.60	\$33,850.00
American Historical Review Fund.....	1,134.64	1,200.00
George L. Beer Prize Fund.....	4,930.35	5,000.00
Andrew D. White Fund.....	1,037.48	1,200.00
	<u>\$39,470.07</u>	<u>\$41,250.00</u>

BUDGET, 1924

Receipts:

Annual dues.....	\$12,500.00	
Registration fees.....	175.00	
Publications	150.00	
Royalties	50.00	
Interest	1,800.00	
Miscellaneous	25.00	\$14,700.00

Expenditures:

Secretary and Treasurer.....	\$3,000.00	
Pacific Coast Branch.....	50.00	
Committee on Nominations.....	100.00	
Committee on Membership.....	100.00	
Committee on Programme.....	350.00	
Committee on Local Arrangements.....	150.00	
Committee on Publications.....	700.00	
Conference of Historical Societies.....	25.00	
Executive Council.....	500.00	
American Historical Review.....	7,500.00	
Public Archives Commission.....	100.00	
Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.....	200.00	
Committee on Bibliography.....	500.00	
Committee on Research in Colleges.....	50.00	
Committee on History Teaching in Schools...	50.00	
Committee on Endowment.....	1,000.00	
Writings on American History.....	200.00	
American Council of Learned Societies.....	160.00	
International Committee of Historical Science..	100.00	
Treasurer's Contingent Fund.....	200.00	\$15,035.00

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Second Vice-President, Dana C. Munro, Princeton University, Princeton.

Secretary, John S. Bassett, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.

Treasurer, Charles Moore, Library of Congress, Washington.⁸

Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, Patty W. Washington, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington.

⁷ Died Feb. 3, 1924.

⁸ For the purposes of routine business the treasurer may be addressed at 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

Editor, Allen R. Boyd, Library of Congress, Washington.

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Albert Bushnell Hart

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Committee on Programme for the Thirty-ninth Annual Meeting: St. George L. Sioussat, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, chairman; Elbert J. Benton, Eugene H. Byrne, Eloise Ellery, Nathaniel W. Stephenson; and (*ex officio*) Nils A. Olsen and Joseph Schafer. *Subcommittee on an Anglo-American Conference of Professors of History*: J. Franklin Jameson, chairman; Herbert C. Bell, James T. Shotwell.

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Historical Manuscripts Commission: Justin H. Smith, 7 West 43d Street, New York, chairman; James T. Adams, Eugene C. Barker, Logan Esarey, Gaillard Hunt. *Subcommittee on Manuscripts from Europe*: Randolph G. Adams, Lawrence C. Wroth.

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Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize: Conyers Read, 1218 Snyder Avenue, Philadelphia, chairman; Charles H. McIlwain, Nellie Neilson, Louis J. Paetow, Bernadotte E. Schmitt.

⁹ The names from that of Mr. Rhodes to that of Mr. Cheyney are those of ex-presidents.

- Public Archives Commission:* John W. Oliver, University of Pittsburgh, chairman; Solon J. Buck, John H. Edmonds, Robert B. House, Waldo G. Leland, Victor H. Paltsits.
- Committee on Bibliography:* George M. Dutcher, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., chairman; William H. Allison, Sidney B. Fay, Augustus H. Shearer, Henry R. Shipman. *Subcommittee on the Bibliography of American Travel:* Solon J. Buck, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, chairman.
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- Committee on Publications:* H. Barrett Learned, 2123 Bancroft Place, Washington, chairman; Allen R. Boyd, Library of Congress, Washington, secretary; and (*ex officio*) John S. Bassett, Elbert J. Benton, J. Franklin Jameson, Justin H. Smith, O. C. Stine.
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Committee on the George L. Beer Prize: Bernadotte E. Schmitt, 2076 East 88th Street, Cleveland, chairman; George H. Blakeslee, Robert H. Lord, Jesse S. Reeves, Robert L. Schuyler.

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Committee on the Writing of History: Jean J. Jusserand, French Embassy, Washington, chairman; Wilbur C. Abbott, John S. Bassett, Charles W. Colby.

Committee on the Documentary Historical Publications of the United States Government: J. Franklin Jameson, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, chairman; Charles M. Andrews, John S. Bassett, Worthington C. Ford, Gaillard Hunt, Andrew C. McLaughlin, John B. McMaster, Charles Moore, Frederick J. Turner.

Representatives in the International Committee of Historical Science: James T. Shotwell, 407 West 117th Street, New York; Waldo G. Leland, 145 Rue de Longchamp, Paris XVI., France.

TRIPLE ALLIANCE AND TRIPLE ENTENTE, 1902-1914¹

THE causes of the Great War have been analyzed from many points of view. The explanation usually offered is the vaulting ambition of this or that great power, Germany being most often selected as the offender. Persons internationally minded insist that rabid nationalism was a universal disease and draw vivid pictures of the European anarchy. The pacifist points to the bloated armaments, and the socialist can see only the conflict of rival imperialisms. Facts galore can be cited in support of each thesis. Yet no one of these explanations is entirely satisfactory, or the lot of them taken together. Why should the different kinds of dynamite explode simultaneously in August, 1914? Why, for instance, should a war break out between Great Britain and Germany at a moment when their disputes were seemingly on the verge of adjustment?² There must have been some connecting link which acted as a chain of powder between the various accumulations of explosive material. And so there was. As one peruses the innumerable memoirs by politicians,³ soldiers,⁴ and sailors,⁵ from the German emperor⁶ to obscure diplomatists,⁷ or tries

¹ A paper read at the meeting of the American Historical Association at Columbus, Dec. 28, 1923.

² B. E. Schmitt, *England and Germany, 1740-1914* (1916), pp. 191-195, 368-374; Sir A. W. Ward and G. P. Gooch, *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*, III. 476-481 (1923).

³ H. H. Asquith, *Genesis of the War* (London, 1923); W. S. Churchill, *World Crisis*, I. (1923); Viscount Haldane, *Before the War* (1920). R. Poincaré, *Les Origines de la Guerre* (1921); R. Viviani, *Réponse au Kaiser* (1923), English translation, *As We See It* (1923). T. von Bethmann-Hollweg, *Betrachtungen zum Weltkrieg*, I. (1919); Karl Helfferich, *Der Weltkrieg*, I. (1919); G. von Jagow, *Ursachen und Ausbruch des Weltkrieges* (1919). Graf O. Czernin, *Im Weltkrieg* (1919); B. Molden, *Alois Graf Aehrenthal* (1916). G. Giolitti, *Memorie della Mia Vita* (1922). A. P. Izvolski, *Recollections of a Foreign Minister* (1921). Take Jonescu, *Some Personal Impressions* (1920). Djemal Pasha, *Memoirs of a Turkish Statesman* (1922).

⁴ Conrad von Hötzendorf, *Aus Meiner Dienstzeit* (1921-1923); A. von Margutti, *Vom Alten Kaiser* (1921), English translation, *The Emperor Francis Joseph and his Times* (1922); H. von Moltke, *Erinnerungen, Briefe, Dokumente* (1922).

⁵ Lord Fisher, *Memories* (London, 1919) and *Records* (*ibid.*, 1919); A. von Tirpitz, *Erinnerungen* (1919).

⁶ Wilhelm II., *Erinnerungen* (1922).

⁷ Sir G. W. Buchanan, *My Mission to Russia* (1923). G. P. Deville, *L'Entente, la Grèce, et la Bulgarie* (1919); A. Dumaine, *La Dernière Ambassade de France en Autriche* (1921); M. Paléologue, *La Russie des Tsars pendant la Grande Guerre* (1922). H. Freiherr von Eckardstein, *Lebenserinnerungen und Politische Denk-*

to digest the thousands of documents published since 1918 from the German,⁸ Austrian,⁹ Serbian,¹⁰ Russian,¹¹ French,¹² Belgian,¹³ and British¹⁴ archives, the conviction grows that it was the schism of Europe in Triple Alliance and Triple Entente which fused the various quarrels and forces into one gigantic struggle for the balance of power; and the war came in 1914 because then, for the first time, the lines were sharply drawn between the two rival groups, and neither could yield on the Serbian issue without seeing the balance pass definitely to the other side.

This disastrous result was the more tragic because both groups were formed in the interests of peace, and were, originally at least, defensive in character. Article I. of the Austro-German treaty of

würdigkeiten (1919-1921), English translation, *Ten Years at the Court of St. James'* (1922), *Die Isolierung Deutschlands* (1921); Otto Hammann, *Der Neue Kurs* (1918), *Zur Vorgeschichte des Weltkrieges* (1919), *Um den Kaiser* (1919), *Der Missverständnis Bismarck* (1921), *Bilder aus der Letzten Kaiserzeit* (1922); Freiherr von Schoen, *Erlebtes* (1921), English translation, *Memoirs of an Ambassador* (1922). J. von Szilassy, *Der Untergang der Donau-Monarchie* (1921); Prince L. Windischgraetz, *My Memoirs* (1921). A. Nekludoff, *Diplomatic Reminiscences* (1920); Baron Rosen, *Forty Years of Diplomacy* (1922); E. de Schelling, *Recollections of a Russian Diplomat* (1918). M. Bogitshevitch, *Causes of the War* (1920).

⁸ *Deutschland Schuldig?* (German *Weissbuch* for the Paris Peace Conference, Berlin, 1919); Graf M. Montgelas and W. Schücking, *Die Deutschen Dokumente zum Kriegausbruch* (1919); P. Dirr, *Bayerische Dokumente zum Kriegausbruch* (1922); *Stenographische Berichte und Weissbücher des Parlamentarischen Untersuchungsausschusses zur Vorgeschichte des Weltkrieges* (1920-1921), English translation, *Official German Documents relating to the World War* (1923). The great collection of Foreign Office papers, *Die Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette, 1871-1914*, is not yet available for the period covered by this paper.

⁹ A. F. Pribram, *The Secret Treaties of Austria-Hungary, 1879-1914* (1920-1921); *Diplomatische Aktenstücke zur Vorgeschichte des Krieges 1914* (Vienna, 1919, 3 vols.), English translation, *Official Files pertaining to Pre-War History* (1919-1920). H. Friedjung, *Das Zeitalter des Imperialismus* (1920-1922), often quotes from unpublished documents.

¹⁰ *Deutschland Schuldig?* annex VI.; also in Bogitshevitch.

¹¹ E. Laloy, *Les Documents Secrets . . . publiés par les Bolchéviks* (1920); B. von Siebert, *Diplomatische Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der Entente politik der Vorkriegsjahre* (1921), English edition, *Entente Diplomacy and the World*, by G. A. Schreiner (1921); *Un Livre Noir: Diplomatie d'Avant-Guerre d'après les Documents des Archives Russes, 1910-1914* (1922-1923); G. von Romberg, *Die Fälschungen des Russischen Orangebuches* (1922).

¹² *Documents Diplomatiques: L'Alliance Franco-Russe* (1918); *Les Accords Franco-Italiens de 1900-1902* (1919); *Affaires Balkaniques, 1912-1914* (1922). Bourgeois and Pagès, *Les Origines et les Responsabilités de la Grande Guerre* (1921), quote frequently from unpublished documents.

¹³ B. Schwertfeger, *Zur Europäischen Politik, 1897-1914* (1919), documents captured by the Germans.

¹⁴ Some documents are printed or quoted from by Mr. Asquith and Mr. Churchill.

ill.

1879 read: "Should, contrary to their hope and against the loyal desire of the two High Contracting Parties, one of the two Empires be attacked by Russia, the High Contracting Parties are bound to come to the assistance one of the other."¹⁵ And according to Article II. of the Triple Alliance of 1882: "In case Italy, without direct provocation on her part, should be attacked by France for any reason whatsoever, the two other Contracting Parties shall be bound to lend help and assistance with all their forces to the Party attacked. This same obligation shall devolve upon Italy in case of any aggression without direct provocation by France against Germany."¹⁶ The Franco-Russian alliance of 1893 was equally explicit: "If France is attacked by Germany, or by Italy supported by Germany, Russia shall employ all her available forces to attack Germany. If Russia is attacked by Germany, or by Austria supported by Germany, France shall employ all her available forces to fight Germany."¹⁷

No semblance of aggressive intent is to be found in such language, and at the opening of our unhappy century, the alliance system seemed to have justified itself. There was little talk of a European conflagration. Triple and Dual Alliances stood—to modify an apt phrase of Mr. Winston Churchill—side by side, not face to face. Even had they been inclined to try conclusions with each other, the balance of military power was sufficiently even to make the result doubtful. So long as Great Britain, who had her quarrels with both groups, stood aside, fear of her intervention, if no other reason, assured the continuance of peace. Moreover, the two danger-zones of Europe, Alsace-Lorraine and the Near East, were relatively quiet.

In the year 1902, however, two diplomatic manoeuvres were executed which profoundly altered the situation. In April a German diplomatist overheard Joseph Chamberlain and the French ambassador in London using the words "Morocco" and "Egypt" so frequently that he divined the coming change in British policy;¹⁸ the first steps towards the Entente Cordiale were indeed being taken. And a little later Italy gave to France the secret promise of "a strict neutrality . . . in case France, as the result of a direct provocation, should find herself compelled, in defence of her honor or of her security, to take the initiative of a declaration of war";¹⁹ a promise which a semi-official French writer admits²⁰ to have been "difficilement conciliable" with the Triple Alliance. Since in 1914 Great

¹⁵ Pribram, I. 27.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, I. 67.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, II. 215.

¹⁸ Eckardstein, *Lebenserinnerungen*, II. 376–377 (*Ten Years*, p. 228).

¹⁹ Pribram, II. 251.

²⁰ Bourgeois and Pagès, p. 301, note 1.

Britain stood by France and Italy refused to follow her allies, there seems to be something in the German contention that the war was the consequence of a plan long meditated and carefully matured.

The Triple Alliance undoubtedly passed through a period of ineffectiveness. In the Moroccan controversy Italy supported France against Germany; in the Bosnian crisis she disapproved of the Austrian procedure, and perhaps dallied with the idea of mobilization against her ally.²¹ This was followed by a secret agreement with Russia in October, 1909,²² which was meant to signalize "the complete unity of the views and interests of the two governments".²³ No wonder that it put the Austrians "in an extraordinarily bad humor"²⁴ or that the French and the Russians came to look upon Italy as "a restraining influence" in the alliance!²⁵ But the Marquis of San Giuliano, who was foreign minister from 1910 to 1914, was a firm believer in the Triple Alliance and restored its vitality. Not only was it renewed at the time of the Balkan wars,²⁶ during which Italy and Austria pursued a common policy, but it was supplemented by an elaborate naval convention for operations in the Mediterranean against the fleets of the Triple Entente.²⁷ More than that: in the spring of 1914 the German general staff secured the written promise of three Italian army corps and two cavalry divisions for use against France.²⁸ "The fidelity of Italy to the alliance", wrote Count von Moltke, the chief of the German staff, after the outbreak of the war, "was hardly open to doubt."²⁹ Thus so far was Germany from being isolated that in 1914 her political, military, and naval arrangements were more complete than at any time since the formation of the Alliance thirty-two years before.³⁰

The Triple Entente was originally a loose diplomatic arrangement represented by the Anglo-French convention of 1904 and the Anglo-

²¹ T. von Sosnosky, in *Contemporary Review*, July, 1923, p. 64.

²² Text in *Livre Noir*, I. 357-358.

²³ Izvolski to Russian ambassador in Berlin, Nov. 4, 1909, Siebert, p. 454.

²⁴ Russian ambassador in Vienna to Izvolski, Oct. 27, 1909, *ibid.*, p. 451.

²⁵ Izvolski to Sazonov, June 6, 1912, *ibid.*, p. 469.

²⁶ Pribram, I. 245.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, I. 283-305.

²⁸ Moltke, p. 8; H. F. Helmolt, *Die Geheime Vorgeschichte des Weltkrieges* (1915), p. 85.

²⁹ Moltke, p. 9.

³⁰ Cf. Col. Hugo Schäfer, "Die Militärischen Abmachungen des Dreibundes vor dem Weltkriege", in *Preussische Jahrbücher*, May, 1922, pp. 203-214. Complaints about isolation come with very bad grace from Germany, for Bismarck's favorite policy for twenty years was to keep France isolated. Also William II. seems to have tried several times to isolate Great Britain (see note 46). Germany always had Austria as an ally.

Russian convention of 1907. In so far as the purpose of the former was to exclude the Germans from Morocco and of the latter to keep them out of Persia,³¹ the two agreements were directed against Germany, whose policies and ambitions were causing grave anxiety in many quarters; but, unlike both Triple and Dual Alliances, they did not refer specifically to European politics and contained no provisions for action in the event of European complications. Yet in 1906 military conversations were opened between the French and British general staffs, "a step", says Mr. Churchill, "of profound significance and of far-reaching reactions", for the discussions "constituted an exceedingly potent tie".³² Two years later, at the meeting of King Edward VII. and Tsar Nicholas II. at Reval, Sir Charles Hardinge, who accompanied the king as representative of the Foreign Office, expressed the opinion that "Russia should be as strong as possible on land and at sea";³³ while Stolypin, the Russian premier, told Sir John Fisher that "he was devoting all his life to make [the western] frontier impregnable against Germany, both in men and munitions, and strategic arrangements".³⁴ And on the morrow of the Bosnian crisis, the conclusion was drawn in Paris, so the Russian ambassador reported, that "the Western Powers, together with Russia, must now pay attention to the systematic development of their armed forces in order to be able . . . to set up on their part demands which would restore the political balance which has now been displaced in favor of Germany and Austria".³⁵ Thus the idea of common action against the Central Powers had begun to take root.

This development was due, as the German historian Johannes Haller admirably explains,³⁶ to the folly of Prince Bülow, chancellor from 1900 to 1909, and his *adlatus* Fritz von Holstein, who after the retirement of Bismarck pulled the strings in the German Foreign Office.³⁷ The British *rapprochement* with France was begun rather reluctantly, only after vain endeavors to come to terms with Germany.

³¹ By Article III. of the Secret Articles of the Anglo-French Convention of Apr. 8, 1904, Spain was to pledge herself not to alienate any territory in Morocco that might be placed under her authority or in her sphere of influence. The Persian situation is discussed in the lengthy correspondence between the British and Russian governments with reference to the Bagdad Railway. See, e.g., Izvolski to Benckendorff, Dec. 19, 1907, Siebert, p. 319, and Sazonov's report to the Tsar in 1912, *Livre Noir*, II. 351.

³² Churchill, I. 27.

³³ Izvolski to Benckendorff, June 19, 1908, Siebert, p. 778.

³⁴ Fisher, *Memories*, p. 237.

³⁵ Nelidov to Izvolski, Apr. 1, 1909, Siebert, p. 114.

³⁶ Johannes Haller, *Die Ära Bülow* (1922).

³⁷ The available information about Holstein is put together by G. P. Gooch in *Cambridge Historical Journal*, I. (1923).

From German sources³⁸ the story has been told how between 1895 and 1901 Great Britain proposed to Germany a partition of Turkey,³⁹ a partition of Morocco, and ultimately an out-and-out alliance. But William II. and Bülow, largely under the influence of Holstein, declined each and every overture.⁴⁰ Germany, they said, must keep her hands free; they hoped to continue Bismarck's policy of the *zwei Eisen*, that is, of playing off Russia against Great Britain,⁴¹ and, in any case, they were persuaded that Germany was strong enough to pursue an independent world policy in all directions. "There is no balance of power in Europe", confided the emperor to a British statesman, "except me—me and my twenty-five corps."⁴² The

³⁸ Eckardstein and Hammann tell practically all that is known, the latter's account being summarized in *Der Missverständne Bismarck*, pp. 63-94; see also Ward and Gooch, vol. III., ch. IV.

³⁹ Sir Valentine Chirol has challenged this (*Times*, Sept. 11 and 13, 1920), declaring that the proposal for partition came from the German emperor. But the documents published in *Die Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette*, X. 3-36 (1923), show that the suggestion was Lord Salisbury's. Salisbury wished to maintain the Ottoman Empire as long as possible, but thought it well to be prepared for its collapse. The German emperor and his Foreign Office were very suspicious of this manoeuvre.

⁴⁰ Holstein insisted that Great Britain should join the Triple Alliance, but both Salisbury and Lord Lansdowne were skeptical about the future of Austria-Hungary. The views of Eckardstein are sharply criticized and those of Holstein defended by Maximilian von Hagen, "Die Bündnispolitik des Deutschen Reiches", in *Preussische Jahrbücher*, November, 1921, pp. 145-171.

⁴¹ A bitter controversy rages in Germany over the real purposes of Bismarck's complicated manoeuvres. Tirpitz and Reventlow believe that the old chancellor's political testament was the admonition to keep the wire to St. Petersburg open; Hammann and Eckardstein insist that the ultimate aim of his policy was to draw Great Britain into the Triple Alliance. Bismarck's own utterances support each view! On the whole, Hammann and Eckardstein seem to have the better of the argument, for perhaps in 1875, probably in 1879, and certainly in 1876 and again in 1889, Bismarck made definite overtures to Great Britain for an alliance. The fullest discussion is in F. Rachfahl, *Deutschland und die Weltpolitik*, Band I., *Die Bismarck'sche Zeit* (1923), which is based on *Die Grosse Politik*. In any case it is a commentary on the political wisdom of the two nations that, at the time when Germany was confident that she could go it alone, Great Britain, with far greater resources, should have deemed it necessary to liquidate her difficulties and seek new friends. What the statesmen of the Guilelmian era overlooked, or preferred to forget, was that when Bismarck opposed Great Britain in Africa—and their naval programme was a much greater challenge!—he had Jules Ferry in one pocket and the Three Emperors' League in the other; or that if he deemed it necessary to support Austria in the Balkans against Russia, he took care that Great Britain should line up behind Austria. Cf. J. V. Fuller, *Bismarck's Diplomacy at its Zenith* (1922).

⁴² Asquith, p. 20; cf. Eckardstein, *Lebenserinnerungen*, II. 265 (*Ten Years*, p. 192).

Triple Alliance, said Bülow in the Reichstag, is no longer "an absolute necessity".⁴³

It was with such convictions that the French pretensions in Morocco were challenged in the spring of 1905. There was no little justification for the German action; but when it was accompanied by threats of war,⁴⁴ when Bülow refused to consider proposals from Rouvier, the French premier, for a large economic collaboration and even a political reconciliation,⁴⁵ when King Edward learned of Emperor William's intrigues with the Tsar at Björkö,⁴⁶ the moral for France and Great Britain was obvious. So as regards Russia. Izvolski, the foreign minister who negotiated the understanding with Great Britain, was ready to make an agreement also with Germany.⁴⁷

⁴³ Speech in the Reichstag, Jan. 8, 1902. Bülow, *Reden*, II. 33.

⁴⁴ The outward sign was the brutal mission of Prince Henckel von Donnersmarck to Paris to demand the dismissal of Delcassé, under threat of war. Eckardstein records (*Die Isolierung Deutschlands*, pp. 111-112) that Bülow said to him at Karlsruhe, in May, 1905: "Wir sind in der Lage, es darauf ankommen zu lassen, ob Frankreich unsere Wünsche erfüllt oder nicht; sollte es sich nicht fügen, so würden wir natürlich die äussersten Konsequenzen daraus ziehen müssen"; and he expresses the conviction that Holstein was intriguing for war. William shortly afterwards said to Izvolski, then Russian minister in Copenhagen: "The question of Alsace-Lorraine is definitively solved, for France has refused to accept the duel which is offered her." Izvolski to Sazonov, Feb. 15, 1912, *Livre Noir*, II. 193-194; Izvolski, *Recollections*, pp. 67-68.

⁴⁵ Rouvier employed as his emissary Baron von Eckardstein, the German diplomatist, who, as councillor of the embassy in London, had conducted the negotiations for an Anglo-German alliance and after their failure had retired from the service. He was asked to come to Paris, where he was made acquainted with Rouvier's offers, which included a coaling-station for Germany on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. He proceeded to Karlsruhe, where William II. was at the moment, but was prevented by Bülow from seeing the emperor. Eckardstein, *Die Isolierung Deutschlands*, pp. 99 ff. Finally, he wrote a long and bitter letter to Holstein, protesting against the notion then prevalent in Germany that Great Britain would be indifferent to an attack on France, and throwing in the prophetic remark, "I have not the least doubt that ultimately America would also take side against us and bow (*hinauskomplimentieren*) us out of France". *Ibid.*, p. 160. Hammann (*Zur Vorgeschichte des Weltkrieges*, p. 141) notes that from this time even Jaurès ceased to preach against revenge, and that Romain Rolland came to believe in the danger of German imperialism.

⁴⁶ Eckardstein, *Lebenserinnerungen*, I. 218, *Isolierung Deutschlands*, p. 171. The Treaty of Björkö of July 24, 1905, between William II. and Nicholas II. is often represented as a personal move of the German emperor, and he certainly drew up the text which he persuaded the Tsar to sign in the absence of any ministers. But Bülow approved the idea of a Russo-German alliance (Hammann, *Zur Vorgeschichte des Weltkrieges*, pp. 142-143), and there is no little evidence to show that William II. was for years obsessed by the idea of organizing a Continental coalition against Great Britain. If Bülow had accepted Rouvier's proposals in May and June, 1905, it might not have been impossible to persuade France to adhere to the Treaty of Björkö.

⁴⁷ Schoen, p. 37.

But when during the Bosnian crisis the German government sent a note in support of Austria that could be and was interpreted as a threat,⁴⁸ the Russian government was bound to draw closer to its western associates.⁴⁹ Instead of smashing the Entente, as he boasted in 1913,⁵⁰ Bülow, more than any other individual, gave it life and being.

It was not yet, however, a closely-knit combination. France's interest in the Bosnian matter was decidedly reserved,⁵¹ and Russia took scant interest in Morocco. Indeed the retirement of Bülow so eased the tension that his successor, Bethmann-Hollweg, was able to approach each member of the Entente with suggestions for a deal. • Long negotiations with France for a joint exploitation of Morocco;⁵² verbal assurances exchanged with the Russians at Potsdam in November, 1910, that "neither of the two governments would enter into an alliance which might be aimed against the other",⁵³ and a com-

⁴⁸ The Germans have always paraded the note as a piece of friendly advice which enabled Izvolski to get out of the diplomatic hole in which he found himself; Jagow, pp. 17-18. The crucial point was the statement that if Russia persisted in refusing to recognize the Austrian annexation, Germany would "let things take their course" (text in Hammann, *Bilder aus der Letzten Kaiserzeit*, pp. 155-156). As Austria had decided to declare war on Serbia, public opinion would have forced Russia to intervene, and Germany would then have gone to the rescue of her ally. The note was drafted by Kiderlen-Wächter, who was substituting for Schoen at the Foreign Office, and he boasted that "never would Schoen and Co. have ventured to do what I did on my own responsibility". Jonescu, p. 62. Schoen admits (p. 79) that the language was "very forcible".

⁴⁹ In 1911 Izvolski informed Schoen in Paris, where both were serving as ambassadors, that "Russia had so little got over her diplomatic defeat that she formed still closer relations with France and England". Schoen, pp. 80-81.

⁵⁰ Bülow, *Imperial Germany*, p. 65.

⁵¹ Franco-German relations were then tense because of the Casablanca incident. Clemenceau was more annoyed with Izvolski than with Aehrenthal; Molden, *Alois Graf Aehrenthal*, p. 82. Later France agreed to a German proposal for collective representations to Serbia in the interests of peace (Hammann, *Um den Kaiser*, p. 56), which made "a painful impression" in Russia (Izvolski to Nelidov, Feb. 27, 1909, Siebert, p. 76).

⁵² It was the failure of these negotiations which precipitated the Agadir crisis. In March, 1912, a final attempt to wean France from the "English alliance" was made by an informal suggestion of "a large measure of autonomy for Alsace-Lorraine", which, however, "was not listened to at Paris". Bourgeois and Pagès, p. 343.

⁵³ H. Oncken, in *Modern Germany in relation to the World War* (1915), p. 485. Bethmann, speaking in the Reichstag, said: "Neither Power commits itself to any combination which might have an aggressive point directed against the other." It is curious to observe that this is practically the same language which Sir Edward Grey proposed for an Anglo-German neutrality formula in 1912, which Bethmann then found insufficient. What interested the Russians most was Germany's promise to act once more as an "honest broker" between them and the Austrians. Sazonov's report to the Tsar, Nov. 17, 1910, *Livre Noir*, II. 331-334. Ac-

promise about the Bagdad Railway; efforts to arrive at an understanding with Great Britain about naval armaments: surely an accommodation could be reached in one direction. Unfortunately, Bethmann was never master of the political situation in Germany,⁵⁴ where there were two schools of expansionists. The militarists and the navy men saw in France and Great Britain, respectively, the rivals to be dealt with. Big business and high finance, on the other hand, dreamed of a German ascendancy in the Near East which must, sooner or later, arouse the opposition of Russia. The emperor, for his part, was equally anxious to be both Admiral of the Atlantic and King of Jerusalem. So the poor Chancellor, though keenly aware of Germany's dangerous position,⁵⁵ was pulled in opposite directions. He could never offer to any one Entente power an inducement sufficient to wean it away from the other two, and to some extent he was forced to carry on the very policies which had brought the Entente into existence. The *Panther's* "spring" at Agadir in 1911⁵⁶ was as legitimate, or the reverse, as the French occupation of Fez; the refusal to limit the navy so long as Great Britain clung to the Entente was intelligible; the Near Eastern policy, although it depended on the friendship of two ramshackle states, was less objectionable than some other forms of contemporary imperialism. But to pursue all three courses at once was politics of the worst sort, for it kept alive the distrust and suspicion of the Entente Powers, convinced them of the dangerous reality of German militarism, and made them more anxious than ever to act together.⁵⁷

Hence it was that the relations of France with Russia and of both with Great Britain began to grow steadily more intimate. The credit for this belongs in the first instance to M. Raymond Poincaré, who became premier of France in January, 1912. Under his masterly care, Franco-Russian relations, which had become somewhat tenuous while one ally was absorbed in Morocco and the other in Persia and the Far East,⁵⁸ were soon exhibiting the closest harmony. In the

cording to A. Hoyos, *Der Deutsch-Englische Gegensatz* (1922), p. 26, Russia received assurances that "the Eastern Question would not be precipitated by the Central Powers".

⁵⁴ Bethmann-Hollweg, I. 21-25, 99-104.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-20.

⁵⁶ Kiderlen-Wächter spent his Easter vacation drafting the note which was presented to the Powers on July 1, 1911, and in April informed a confidant of his intention of sending a war-ship to Agadir. C. von Weizsäcker, "Zum Marokkostreit", in *Deutsche Revue*, September, 1921, pp. 197-210.

⁵⁷ The Germans for their part were as fully convinced that they would be attacked by the Entente Powers.

⁵⁸ Izvolski frankly and brutally informed the French government that it ought to pay Germany's price for Morocco (J. Caillaux, *Agadir*, p. 147); in August

liquidation of the Tripolitan War and throughout the Balkan wars, Paris and St. Petersburg devised and applied a common policy, carrying London with them if possible. M. Poincaré repeatedly assured Izvolski, now ambassador to France, that the Republic would fulfill all the obligations of the alliance;⁵⁹ Izvolski took the Paris press into pay,⁶⁰ to create a sentiment for Russia and to strengthen the position of the premier whom he recognized as most useful to Russia. The French statesman urged the Tsar to proceed with the construction of strategic railways in Poland⁶¹ and sent Delcassé as his representative at the Russian court;⁶² the Russian ambassador, at least according to some persons, demanded that France revive the three years' military service.⁶³ The French and Russian general staffs, in annual conferences, perfected their plans for war, which were based on a joint offensive against Germany.⁶⁴ A naval convention was concluded.⁶⁵ Finally M. Poincaré went to Russia, and M. Sazonov, the foreign

Kiderlen was pleased to note "how correct the attitude of Russia has been in the Moroccan question" (Russian ambassador in Berlin to Neratov, Aug. 16, 1911, Siebert, p. 433). This attitude in no way deterred Russia from exerting constant pressure on France for support of its own policy at the Straits or of financial projects in China. Cf., e.g., Izvolski to de Selves, Nov. 4, 1911, *Livre Noir*, I. 157-159.

⁵⁹ According to Izvolski, M. Poincaré said to him on one occasion that "if Russia went to war, France would do likewise". Izvolski to Sazonov, Nov. 17, 1912, in *Livre Noir*, I. 346; Siebert, p. 586; *Deutschland Schuldig?* annex VIII., app. 5. M. Poincaré declares that in his conversations with the Russian statesmen, he always limited his promises to the obligations of the alliance, that is, that Russia must be attacked by Germany (*Origines de la Guerre*, p. 148), which is confirmed by Sazonov's report to the Tsar of his interview with Poincaré in August, 1912 (*Livre Noir*, II. 342). As regards the assurance of November, 1912, Izvolski, at Poincaré's request, sent a second telegram to make clear that the *casus foederis* must be involved (*ibid.*, I. 346-347; Siebert, pp. 586-587; *Deutschland Schuldig?* annex VIII., app. 6); and the French premier sent a telegram of his own to St. Petersburg (Poincaré to Louis, Nov. 19, 1912, no. 263, *Affaires Balkaniques*, I. 156). M. Poincaré kept reminding the Russian government that its policy in the Balkans must be communicated to and approved by France, and he several times prevented precipitate action.

⁶⁰ *Livre Noir*, I. 35-39, 128-129, 130, 148-149, 258-259.

⁶¹ Poincaré to the Tsar, Mar. 20, 1913, *Livre Noir*, II. 52.

⁶² F. Gouttenoire de Toury, *Poincaré a-t-il voulu la Guerre?* (1920) charged M. Poincaré with replacing Georges Louis by Delcassé because the former was too pacific, which M. Poincaré denied somewhat heatedly; *Le Matin*, Dec. 20, 1920. The Russian documents show that Sazonov and Izvolski complained of Louis's inaccurate reports and that Poincaré agreed to the appointment of another ambassador; this, however, was not done for nearly a year, until the premier had become president.

⁶³ Robert Dell, "A Great Criminal", in *Nation* (London), Aug. 23, 1919; E. D. Morel, *Truth and the War* (1916), pp. 152-153, quoting various French newspapers. The Russian documents are silent on the matter.

⁶⁴ The protocols for 1911-1913 are printed in *Livre Noir*, II. 419-437.

⁶⁵ Pribram, II. 223-225.

minister, expressed to the Tsar his hope that "in the event of a crisis in international relations" there would be at the helm in France, "if not M. Poincaré, at least a personality of the same power of decision and as free from the fear of taking responsibility".⁶⁶ The elevation of M. Poincaré to the presidency of the republic in no way interrupted the newly developed intimacy.⁶⁷ Indeed, from 1912 to the outbreak of the war, the Dual Alliance presented a solid front at every turn to the rival diplomatic group.

The commitments made by Great Britain to France in this same period are not easily defined. Mr. Asquith repeatedly assured Parliament that no engagements existed which would hamper its free decision, and in his recent book he insists that "the Entente . . . was never converted into an alliance".⁶⁸ This is true enough, technically, for in the well-known letters exchanged in November, 1912, between Sir Edward Grey and M. Paul Cambon,⁶⁹ the consultations of the military experts were affirmed not to be binding. But if we compare the last paragraph of each of these letters—

I agree that, if either Government had some grave reason to expect an unprovoked attack by a third Power, or something that threatened the general peace, it should immediately discuss with the other whether both Governments should act together to prevent aggression and to preserve peace, and, if so, what measures they would be prepared to take in common—

with the political clauses of the Franco-Russian alliance—

The two Governments declare that they will take counsel together upon every question of a nature to jeopardize the general peace; in case that peace should be actually in danger, and especially if one of the two parties should be threatened with an aggression, the two parties undertake to reach an understanding on the measures whose immediate and simultaneous adoption would be imposed upon the two Governments by the realization of this eventuality—⁷⁰

we can hardly make any distinction between the engagements contracted. The Anglo-French military and naval documents of 1910

⁶⁶ Sazonov to the Tsar, Aug. 17, 1912, *Livre Noir*, II. 345; Siebert, p. 796.

⁶⁷ "Tous les hommes d'état sont pénétrés de la conviction absolument générale et évidente que l'alliance de la Russie et de la France est l'unique facteur garantissant l'avenir de la France." Kokovtzev to the Tsar, Nov. 19, 1913, *Livre Noir*, II. 393. The Radical premier Doumergue declared to Izvolski in March, 1914: "L'alliance franco-russe donnait à la France une grande force pour assurer la défense de tous ses intérêts et apparaissait en même temps comme le gage le plus sûr de la conservation de la paix." Izvolski to Sazonov, *ibid.*, II. 255.

⁶⁸ Asquith, p. 57.

⁶⁹ British Diplomatic Correspondence, no. 105, enclosures 1 and 2, in *Collected Diplomatic Documents relating to the Outbreak of the European War*; Asquith, pp. 267-269.

⁷⁰ Pribram, II. 213.

and 1912 have not been published: probably they are labelled "conversations", like the Anglo-Belgian documents of 1906 and 1912⁷¹ discovered by the Germans, as opposed to the formal "conventions" of 1893 and 1912 between France and Russia.⁷² But Marshal Joffre has stated⁷³ that the French military plans were based on the assumption of British support, which had been worked out in every detail, and when the French concentrated their fleet in the Mediterranean, "the moral claims which France could make upon Great Britain if attacked by Germany . . . were enormously extended".⁷⁴ According to the Russian secret documents, both Sir Edward Grey and M. Poincaré informed M. Sazonov that there existed between the French and British governments "a verbal agreement, by virtue of which England had declared herself ready to come to the aid of France in the event of an attack by Germany".⁷⁵

If it is a problem in casuistry to reconcile such a statement with the language used by Mr. Asquith, the very great difficulty of the British government must in all fairness be recognized. The German navy was their constant preoccupation, since the Admiralty did not believe, for technical reasons,⁷⁶ that it was built for defense only; it was elementary prudence to perfect military and naval arrangements beforehand with the only possible ally. Ought then Great Britain to have contracted a formal and open alliance with France?⁷⁷ Apart from the fact that it would have encouraged the chauvinists in France and angered the Germans almost to desperation, it might well have involved the fall of the Liberal government. A secret alliance was out of the question. The British Cabinet therefore sought to escape from its dilemma by informal promises which in theory were not binding. There is little doubt that Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey thought they had retained their liberty of action, and their sin-

⁷¹ *Collected Dipl. Docs.*, pp. 354-361.

⁷² Pribram, II. 215, 223.

⁷³ Joffre, *La Préparation de la Guerre et la Conduite des Opérations* (1920), p. 21. He speaks of "nos conventions militaires avec l'Angleterre".

⁷⁴ Churchill, I. 115.

⁷⁵ Sazonov's reports to the Tsar, Aug. 17, November, 1912, in *Livre Noir*, II. 339, 347. There is at present no way to determine whether Sazonov correctly reported what Poincaré and Grey said to him. Francis Dyke Acland, parliamentary under-secretary for foreign affairs from 1911 to 1915, has declared (*Journal of the British Institute of International Affairs*, January, 1923, p. 47): "In fact Lord Grey had answered 'No' on various occasions when France had asked whether, if war resulted in certain circumstances, she could rely on British support." A statement by the British government is greatly to be desired.

⁷⁶ Mr. Churchill's speech before the Committee of Imperial Defence, July 11, 1912. Asquith, pp. 77-79.

⁷⁷ Cf. Earl Loreburn, *How the War Came* (1919), pp. 11-16, 19-20.

cerity is attested by their hesitations in July, 1914. But there is equally little doubt that the French were confident of British support. "England is not bound to France by any definite political engagement", said M. Poincaré to Izvolski in February, 1913, "but the tone and the nature of the assurances given by the cabinet of London allow the French government, in the existing political conjunctures, to count upon the armed support of England in case of conflict with Germany."⁷⁸ Mr. Churchill was right when he wrote: "Every one must feel who knows the facts that we have the obligations of an alliance without its advantages, and above all without its precise definitions."⁷⁹

The value attached by the British Foreign Office to the understanding with Russia can be gaged by two incidents: in 1908 Sir Edward Grey accepted the principle of opening the Straits at Constantinople,⁸⁰ and in 1912 he told Count Benckendorff, the ambassador in London, that if the Entente broke down, he would resign.⁸¹ It is therefore in no way surprising that in the spring of 1914, by which time the Russian navy had become an appreciable factor in the international situation, conversations respecting operations in the Baltic were begun by the British and Russian admiralties.⁸² The Russian diplomatists, who had first suggested the negotiations, expressed the "greatest satisfaction"⁸³ at the complaisance exhibited by the British, and though they did not get the alliance for which they hankered,⁸⁴ they were greatly encouraged by the substitution of "something tangible" for "the hitherto all too theoretical and peaceful basis of the Entente".⁸⁵ The episode is of extreme importance, for it appeared to the French and the Russians as the final step in the consolidation of the Triple Entente; just as the German-Italian military arrangements of a month before marked the rejuvenation of the Triple Alliance. Thus, at last, the two diplomatic groups stood face to face, on the very eve of Serajevo.

Was war the inevitable result of such a situation? The several governments constantly declared their alliances strictly defensive and affirmed their desire for peace; moreover, it is now fairly certain that

⁷⁸ Izvolski to Sazonov, Feb. 27, 1913, *Livre Noir*, II. 32-33.

⁷⁹ Churchill to Asquith, Aug. 23, 1912, Churchill, I. 116.

⁸⁰ Grey to Izvolski, Oct. 14, 1908, *Livre Noir*, II. 458. The British government, however, insisted that the Straits must be opened to the ships of all nations (*cf. infra*, p. 468), and thought the moment inappropriate for action.

⁸¹ Benckendorff to Sazonov, Feb. 8, 1912, Siebert, p. 739.

⁸² Siebert, pp. 818-821.

⁸³ Sazonov to Benckendorff, May 28, 1914, Siebert, p. 817.

⁸⁴ Sazonov to Izvolski, Apr. 2, 1914, *ibid.*, p. 807.

⁸⁵ Benckendorff to Sazonov, May 18, 1914, *ibid.*, p. 813.

no responsible statesman in any country,⁸⁶ as distinct from military cliques,⁸⁷ actually desired war.⁸⁸ The trouble was that each group suspected the good faith of the other; and not without reason. For although both alliances had been formed to preserve the *status quo*, both had been modified, the Triple Alliance in 1887,⁸⁹ the Dual Alliance in 1899,⁹⁰ so as to permit changes in the *status quo*. And that delicate structure was becoming increasingly fragile. The Balkan Peninsula and the Habsburg monarchy presented problems which

⁸⁶ It cannot be seriously contended that Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey were otherwise than pacifically inclined; it is clear also that Bethmann, in his clumsy way, worked for peace, and the same can be said of M. Sazonov, although both he and Bethmann sanctioned or pursued policies that greatly endangered peace. The case against M. Poincaré rests chiefly on what Izvolski reported to his government. Thus, on Jan. 30, 1913, after M. Poincaré had been elected president: "The French government is firmly resolved to fulfill its obligations to us as an ally in the fullest extent, and it admits in good conscience and with all the necessary *sang-froid* that the ultimate result of the existing complications may make it necessary for France to take part in a general war." For the Germans this is quite sufficient. Schoen, in *Deutschland und die Schuldfrage* (1923), p. 25; Montgelas, *Leitfaden zur Kriegsschuldfrage* (1923), p. 49. But, Izvolski goes on: "The moment when France will have to draw the sword is precisely determined by the Franco-Russian military convention; in this connection, the French ministers do not feel the least doubt or hesitation." *Livre Noir*, II. 20. For France to support Russia's Balkan policy was neither more nor less dangerous or warlike than it was for Germany to stand behind Austria.

⁸⁷ The three fat volumes of memoranda published by Conrad von Hötzendorf, the chief of the Austrian general staff, show with what zeal he tried to persuade Aehrenthal and Berchtold to bring on war while the situation was still, as he thought, favorable for the Monarchy; but in vain. Eckardstein (*Isolierung Deutschlands*, p. 184) records an interview with Moltke on June 1, 1914. After hearing the ex-diplomatist's gloomy analysis of the international situation, the chief of the general staff said: "What you have told me interests me uncommonly. If it does have finally to boil over, we are ready, and the sooner it does, the better for us." In France there had been quite an output of pamphlets by soldiers to prove that the chances of a French victory were excellent.

⁸⁸ By "war" is meant a European war. German, Austrian, and Russian statesmen were quite willing for the Balkan states to fight Turkey or each other.

⁸⁹ Pribram, I. 109, 113. Germany promised her assistance to Italy, not only for the realization of the latter's African ambitions, but also "if the fortunes of any war undertaken in common against France should lead Italy to seek for territorial guaranties with respect to France for the security of the frontiers of the Kingdom and of her maritime position"; and Austria and Italy arranged for mutual compensation in the event that "the maintenance of the status quo in the region of the Balkans or of the Ottoman coasts and islands in the Adriatic and in the Aegean Sea should become impossible".

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, II. 219. There was interpolated in the political agreement of 1891, which bound the two governments to "take counsel together upon every question of a nature to jeopardize the general peace", an understanding to maintain "the European balance of power". This addition was made in expectation of the break-up of Austria-Hungary, but the words actually used opened the way to all kinds of possibilities.

would some day have to be faced; when solutions could no longer be postponed, and the Turkish revolution of 1908 made a Balkan settlement imperative, the doctrine of the balance of power would compel the two groups to take position against each other.

Then, again, no government knew what arrangements its own allies might be making on the side. The Germans were rightly suspicious of Italy's "extra dances"⁹¹ with France and Russia. France was never sure that Russia would not come to terms with Germany, as, in fact, Russia tried to do more than once.⁹² Sir Edward Grey was haunted by the fear of "one great combination in Europe, outside which we should be left without a friend".⁹³ The frequent assurances of mutual support in the diplomatic exchanges show that the governments in alliance trusted each other little more than they did those of the opposing group. So there was generated a state of mind which is admirably reflected in a sentence from one of Izvolski's despatches: "With God's help the conflict may be postponed, but that it will come some day we must remember every hour, and every hour we must arm ourselves for it."⁹⁴

Hence the armed peace. It was unquestionably German example that forced the other Continental countries to adopt universal military service, but France always kept a larger percentage of her population with the colors than her rival, and in the years before the war the Russian army was larger than the German and the Austrian put together; on the other hand, Russia did not conscript one per cent. of her population, which was the German rule.⁹⁵ Figures of the moneys spent for armaments have to be handled very carefully, for the military budgets of the different states did not include the same items;⁹⁶ it is also probable that if Germany and Austria spent less than France and Russia, they got more for their money. As the British forces were raised on a volunteer basis, they were much more expensive than the victims of the conscript system. But these refinements are really beside the point, for every government, while balking some-

⁹¹ Bülow's phrase, Reichstag, Jan. 8, 1902. Bülow, *Reden*, II. 31.

⁹² Björkö and Potsdam have already been mentioned (above, p. 455, 456). Shortly before the war Russia is said to have conveyed privately to Germany the suggestion: "Si vous pouviez vous décider à lâcher les Autrichiens, nous pourrions lâcher la France." Helfferich, I. 172; Bethmann, p. 86.

⁹³ Speech to the Imperial Conference, 1911, Asquith, p. 125.

⁹⁴ Izvolski to Neratov, Dec. 20, 1911, Siebert, p. 448.

⁹⁵ Cf. Montgelas, in *Deutschland und die Schuldfrage*, pp. 73-78, and Montgelas, *Leitfaden*, pp. 11-16.

⁹⁶ The French military estimates included the gendarmerie and the colonial troops; the German estimates did not include pensions.

times at the extreme demands of its general staff,⁹⁷ created as large an army and navy as the economic resources and the public opinion of the country would permit; without—and this is the irony of the race to ruin—creating either actual security or even a feeling of security. No document is more illuminating than a report of the German general staff drawn up in December, 1912,⁹⁸ in which it is practically confessed that in spite of forty years' military effort, in spite of the Triple Alliance, the position of the German Empire, at least as seen through general-staff spectacles, was threatened on all sides. A memorandum on the naval situation presented by Mr. Churchill to the British Cabinet in December, 1913, is conceived in a similar strain.⁹⁹ When the supreme test came, the breakdown of diplomacy was induced as much by military panic as by the bellicose velleities of this or that power.

How completely all were caught in a vicious circle is shown most clearly in the Anglo-German negotiations of 1912.¹⁰⁰ The Germans said: We cannot discuss a limitation of armaments unless Great Britain will abandon the Entente, for so long as you stand with France and Russia, they will cherish schemes of revenge or aggression. To which the British replied: So long as you go on with your navy, we cannot give up the insurance provided by the Triple Entente, especially as you are protected by the Triple Alliance. When Admiral von Tirpitz offered to yield on the fleet in return for a promise of unconditional neutrality, Lord Haldane answered that Great Britain was bound by treaty to Portugal and Japan and had certain obligations towards Belgium. Neither was willing to yield anything essential. The British insisted on both their naval supremacy and their diplomatic combinations, for thus the balance of power was turned against Germany. To restore the balance in their favor, the Germans had to retain their freedom in armaments or break up the Entente. Each position was logical, so long as the theory of equilibrium controlled the actions of diplomacy.

There was one man, however, who had the vision of a new order, and that was Sir Edward Grey. Although the British foreign secretary assumed from time to time, as in early stages of the Bagdad

⁹⁷ The German general staff wanted three more corps in 1912-1913 than the government would grant; Bethmann prevented Tirpitz from getting as many ships as he wanted in 1912. Mr. Lloyd George, in January, 1914, publicly protested against the ever-growing naval estimates.

⁹⁸ E. Ludendorff, *The General Staff and its Problems* (1920), I. 60-64.

⁹⁹ Churchill, I. 184-186.

¹⁰⁰ Asquith, pp. 97-102; Churchill, I. 95-113; Haldane, pp. 55-72, 145-149. Bethmann, pp. 49-59; Tirpitz (English edition), I. 282-296; William II., (English edition), pp. 146-160; Bernhard Huldermann, *Albert Ballin* (1922), pp. 164-184.

Railway question or in Morocco, an attitude frankly hostile to Germany, although he steadily strengthened the Triple Entente as a bulwark against Germany, that was only one side of his activity. He was so far from pursuing a policy of encirclement that he told Count Benckendorff that the isolation of Germany would be the surest road to war.¹⁰¹ What he desired and worked for was an understanding with Germany, on the condition, as he phrased it, that it "must not put us back into the old bad relations with France and Russia".¹⁰² If this could be achieved, then the way would be open to the creation of an effective concert of Europe. "Sir Edward Grey's aim", says the German historian Veit Valentin, "was a new Europe in which the existing causes of conflict should be allayed and an understanding reached about armaments."¹⁰³

Sir Edward was at heart a pacifist,¹⁰⁴ in spite of all he did to improve the military arrangements of the Entente, and he perceived more clearly than any of his contemporaries not only that the armaments race must have a fatal conclusion, but that the co-operation of the Great Powers must be substituted for their antagonism before a limitation of armaments could be discussed. Hence he was constantly recommending the Concert of Europe to the Continental governments. If his handling of the Bosnian crisis is open to some criticism,¹⁰⁵ nevertheless he was standing out for the principle that the affairs of the Near East must be adjusted by consent of all the powers; and that he was right was soon demonstrated, for Russia replied with a great military and naval programme to the settlement dictated by Germany and Austria. If the Moroccan negotiations between France and Germany in 1911 had broken down, it was Sir Edward's intention to propose a European conference.¹⁰⁶ During the Balkan wars and after, not only did he refuse to embark on any course of action which would set off the Triple Entente against the Triple Alliance, but he insisted, often to the annoyance of France and Russia, on associating Germany in every step.¹⁰⁷ Ultimately he

¹⁰¹ Benckendorff to Izvolski, Feb. 10, 1909, Siebert, p. 728.

¹⁰² Speech to the Imperial Conference, 1911, Asquith, p. 124.

¹⁰³ Veit Valentin, *Deutschlands Aussenpolitik* (1921), p. 124.

¹⁰⁴ So the writer has been assured by persons in a position to know.

¹⁰⁵ Schmitt, pp. 294-295; Ward and Gooch, III. 411.

¹⁰⁶ Paul Cambon to de Selves, Aug. 23, 1911, French *Livre Jaune, Affaires du Maroc*, vol. VI. (1912), no. 517. Cf. also Benckendorff to Neratov, July 5, 1911, Siebert, p. 426.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. *Affaires Balkaniques*, *passim*. Prince Lichnowsky, who was a member of the conference of ambassadors in London, states that Grey "wished to mediate between the two groups as an 'honest broker'". *My Mission to London* (1918), p. 10. In the Liman von Sanders affair (below, p. 466) he refused to follow Sazonov in a vigorous protest and preferred to negotiate a compromise with Germany; Siebert, pp. 642-651.

hoped to effect, as indeed he proposed in 1912¹⁰⁸ and again in 1914,¹⁰⁹ an agreement between the powers that they would not attack each other.

For the failure to realize this lofty ideal, Sir Edward Grey was, in a sense, himself responsible. His public statements on the one hand that he was a free agent, and his private assurances to France on the other, encouraged both Continental groups to gamble, the one on British neutrality, the other on British support. But in this very fact, rather than in his equivocations, is contained the real reason for Grey's failure. The conception of a Concert of Europe made little appeal to the Continental Powers,¹¹⁰ not because any one of them was bent on war, but because each alliance was determined to establish its supremacy in the councils of Europe. Each side hoped to accomplish this without recourse to war, but because both felt sure of Great Britain, each was willing to run the risk of war, and to accept war, if that were necessary to secure its ascendancy. And victory would rest with that group which could control the march of events in the Near East.

The plans of the Germans are familiar enough to us. They intended, by means of the Bagdad Railway¹¹¹ and by reorganizing the Turkish army, to reduce the Ottoman Empire to economic and political vassalage. The sending of General Liman von Sanders in January, 1914, to command the garrison of Constantinople¹¹² was at once an index of their confidence and a warning to others; and if, under Russian pressure, the German officer's function had to be changed to that of inspector-general,¹¹³ it was all the easier for him

¹⁰⁸ The formula offered the Germans: "Aggression upon Germany is not the subject and forms no part of any treaty, understanding or combination to which England is now a party, nor will she become a party to anything that has such an object." Asquith, p. 56.

¹⁰⁹ "My own endeavor will be to promote some arrangement to which Germany could be a party, by which she could be assured that no aggressive or hostile policy would be pursued against her or her allies by France, Russia, and ourselves, jointly or separately." Sir Edward Grey to Sir Edward Goschen, July 30, 1914, *Collected Dipl. Docs.*, p. 78.

¹¹⁰ It is of course not to be denied that both France and Germany co-operated with Great Britain in 1912-1913 in making the Concert work, and M. Poincaré was as anxious as Sir Edward Grey to maintain the unity of the Powers. The long negotiations, however, served to emphasize rather than minimize the fundamental conflict between the two alliances.

¹¹¹ The fullest account is in E. M. Earle, *Turkey, the Great Powers, and the Bagdad Railway* (1923).

¹¹² Cf. Liman von Sanders, *Fünf Jahre Türkei* (1920), ch. I.

¹¹³ The diplomatic correspondence may be read in Siebert, ch. XVII., and *Affaires Balkaniques*, III. 82-109; cf. also Schwertfeger, IV. 168-172. According to Helfferich, the military details were worked out by the German general staff,

to train the Turkish soldiers in Anatolia and prepare the way for the Turko-German alliance of August 1, 1914.

The Austrians, in turn, were to extend their influence over the Balkans, though not, as has often been supposed, by the crude method of advancing to Salonika. The plans of Count Aehrenthal, as sketched for the Emperor Francis Joseph on the eve of the annexation of Bosnia, called for an alliance with Bulgaria, who should be promised the reversion of Macedonia, and an independent Albania under Austrian patronage.¹¹⁴ Serbia would then be so surrounded by enemies that she would have to submit to the dictation of Vienna, and the Karageorgevitch dynasty could be left as a harmless expression of national existence. Aehrenthal was content to bide his time, perceiving as he did that his programme could be carried out only in the event of European complications: it is all the more significant, therefore, that Count Berchtold was playing with the same ideas in June, 1914, before the assassination of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand.¹¹⁵ It will be observed that neither Germany nor Austria aimed at annexing territory, so that they could easily deny any aggressive designs; but it must be obvious that the success of their schemes would give them practical control over the vast region stretching from Belgrade to the Persian Gulf.

To the Russians, of course, such a prospect was intolerable. As a counterweight to Austria they organized the Balkan League,¹¹⁶ to be let loose against the Habsburg monarchy¹¹⁷ or the Ottoman Empire as circumstances might require; and to prevent Serbia from coming to terms with Austria, they held out promises of future assistance which were exceedingly dangerous to the cause of peace.¹¹⁸ But without regard for the political effects. The Foreign Office paid no attention to the military details. Hence Bethmann did not inform Sazonov, who passed through Berlin in November, of the composition of the mission, and the latter thought he had been tricked. Karl Helfferich, *Die Deutsche Türkenpolitik* (1921), p. 29.

¹¹⁴ Friedjung, II. 241.

¹¹⁵ Francis Joseph to William II., July 2, 1914, and the accompanying memorandum. *Diplomatische Aktenstücke zur Vorgeschichte des Weltkrieges*, vol. I., no. 1; *Die Deutschen Dokumente zum Kriegsausbruch*, vol. I., nos. 13, 14.

¹¹⁶ Siebert, ch. III.

¹¹⁷ Article V. of the Russo-Bulgarian Military Convention of December, 1909, stated that "the realization of the high ideals of the Slavic peoples upon the Balkan peninsula . . . is possible only after a favourable outcome of Russia's struggle with Germany and Austria-Hungary". Bogitshevitch, p. 90; Laloy, p. 55.

¹¹⁸ The president of the duma told a Serbian diplomatist that "we shall consider any attempt to coerce Serbia as the beginning of a European conflagration". Koshutitch to Serbian Foreign Office, Mar. 19, 1909, Bogitshevitch, p. 112; *Deutschland Schuldig?* annex VI., app. 10. "The Minister of Foreign Affairs told me that Serbia was the only State in the Balkan[s] in which Russia had confidence, and that Russia would do everything for Serbia." Popovitch to Belgrade, Feb. 4, 1913,

Serbia was less important in the eyes of the Russian government than the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. As early as 1908 Izvolski had worked out a scheme which would allow three Russian men-of-war at a time to pass the Straits without a corresponding privilege being allowed the ships of other powers,¹¹⁹ and the idea runs like a red thread through the subsequent years. First, the Turks were tempted, during the Tripolitan War, by the offer of an alliance;¹²⁰ when they refused, Russia made no effort to save them from the Balkan crusade of 1912, and during those feverish days great pressure had to be exerted by France and Great Britain to prevent the despatch of a Russian fleet to the Golden Horn.¹²¹ Finally, in February, 1914, after the Germans had shown their hand in the Liman von Sanders affair, a secret council of Russian ministers and military experts prepared a scheme for seizing the Bosphorus in case a European war should break out.¹²²

At Constantinople, then, two mighty currents were meeting at right angles, the Russian streaming to the southwest, the German to the southeast. The Russians felt that they must open the Straits because their commerce had suffered grievous losses from the closing of the Dardanelles in 1912; the avowed intent of Germany to strengthen Turkey in a military way, which would militate against the opening of the Straits, was explained by the necessity of securing a free field for German enterprise. In Asiatic Turkey a compromise was perhaps possible, for in the spring of 1914 a series of agreements divided the dominions of the Sultan into spheres of influence for railway exploitation by the several rival powers.¹²³ The Turkish government was also, as it were, put in commission, for if a German

Bogitshevitch, p. 99. "Again Sazonov told me that we must work for the future because we would acquire a great deal of territory from Austria." Popovitch to Belgrade, Apr. 29, 1913, Bogitshevitch, pp. 99-100. In February, 1914, the Tsar promised Pashitch, the Serbian premier, that Russia would supply Serbia with munitions, and sent to the Serbian king the message, "For Serbia we shall do all". Pashitch's report, Feb. 2, 1914, Bogitshevitch, pp. 130, 134; *Deutschland Schuldig?* annex VI., app. 26. An English writer interprets these promises as a Russian device to prevent Serbia from precipitating war (J. W. Headlam-Morley, "Russian Diplomacy before the War", in *Quarterly Review*, January, 1922), but they left the Serbs masters of the situation. Whether Russia was planning a deliberate attack on Austria-Hungary or waiting for that antiquated political machine to collapse of its own rottenness is still, at least so it seems to the writer, an open question.

¹¹⁹ *Livre Noir*, II. 457.

¹²⁰ Siebert, ch. XVIII.; *Livre Noir*, II. 458-464.

¹²¹ *Affaires Balkaniques*, II. 25-30, 260, 264-265, 272; *Livre Noir*, II. 1-4, III-III.

¹²² Protocol of the meeting in Laloy, pp. 74-101, and *Deutschland Schuldig?* annex X., app. 1.

¹²³ Earle, ch. X.

general was in charge of the army, a British admiral was reorganizing the navy, and a Frenchman commanded the gendarmeries. Nevertheless, a conflict of interests remained which showed itself quite clearly in the question of Armenian reforms, when the Entente Powers supported the Russian programme and the Triple Alliance helped Turkey to modify it.¹²⁴ On the whole, it would seem that German influence was steadily mounting at the Sublime Porte; just when an alliance was first mooted is uncertain, but there is no doubt that Enver and Talaat Pashas overbore the French sympathies by which Djemal Pasha, the other member of the ruling triumvirate, claimed to have been animated.¹²⁵

In the Balkans the Treaty of Bucharest (August, 1913) was followed by much jockeying for position on the part of both Balkan kingdoms and Great Powers. Amidst the welter of intrigue, the outstanding fact seems to be that Bulgaria, disgusted by the hard terms imposed upon her and holding Russia responsible for them, began negotiations for a Turkish alliance, which was very nearly concluded in May, 1914;¹²⁶ while from March on she was herself courted by the Central Powers and preferred to raise a loan in Berlin rather than in Paris.¹²⁷ In midsummer, 1914, nothing was settled. But if "the isolation and diminution of Serbia"¹²⁸ could be effected, and Bulgaria won by the cession of Macedonia, the Teutonic road to the East would be secure, and the hegemony of the Balkans and of Europe would pass to the Triple Alliance. The incentive to an active policy was probably not weakened by the confidence of Germany in both Italian loyalty and British neutrality.

Russia was bound to resist any move directed against Serbia. For Rumania, after being for thirty years a satellite of the Triple Alliance,¹²⁹ was now veering round to friendship with France and Russia,¹³⁰ and a Serbo-Rumanian wedge between Austria and Bulgaria would certainly stop the *Drang nach Osten*, if it did not make the Dual Alliance the arbiter of Balkan politics. Thus Serbia had become the key to the whole European situation. Russia could resist

¹²⁴ Djemal Pasha, p. 271.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 101-107, 75.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56; A. F. Pribram, *Austrian Foreign Policy, 1908-1918* (1923), pp. 50-51.

¹²⁷ For Franco-Russian efforts to save the situation in their favor, see Siebert, pp. 632-638.

¹²⁸ The phrase used by Francis Joseph in his letter of July 2, 1914, to William II.

¹²⁹ The treaty was renewed on Feb. 26, 1913. Pribram, I. 267.

¹³⁰ Siebert, pp. 615-618; *Livre Noir*, II. 377-384; Austrian memorandum of July, 1914.

the Austro-German schemes the more confidently because her military reorganization was nearly completed¹³¹ and because she was sure of French assistance.

France had no direct interest in the Balkans, but if she declined to stand with Russia, the Dual Alliance would be shattered, the balance of power destroyed, and the Treaty of Frankfurt ratified by the dead weight of Germany's greater population and superior resources for war. In these tragic circumstances France had no alternative, unless she was to abdicate as a great power, but to follow Russia; not blindly, for the assurances of support were limited to the terms of the treaty of alliance, but in the long run the Russians held the trump cards. M. Poincaré seems to have described the situation accurately when he said to Izvolski: "France is undoubtedly peacefully inclined, neither looking for war nor desiring it, but if Germany goes against Russia, this state of mind will change immediately."¹³² So long as great armaments and the balance of power were the main-springs of European policy, France, like every other state, was ready to fight rather than face isolation by leaving her ally in the lurch.¹³³

So the stage was set for a trial of strength between the two great diplomatic combinations, each of which was armed to the teeth. In June, 1914, William II. and the Archduke Francis Ferdinand met, for the last time, at Konopischt. Their talk was about Rumania, according to the most authentic account,¹³⁴ but the Russian general staff received reports to the effect that they had agreed to an Austrian attack on Serbia, with German assistance if necessary. This information was passed on to the intelligence section of the Serbian general staff, which was presided over by a Colonel Dragutin Dimitryevitch, born conspirator, a regicide of 1903, the leading spirit in the "Society of Union or Death" or "Black Hand", and chief of the

¹³¹ At least the war minister thought so. He inspired a famous article in the *Bourse Gazette*, Mar. 13, 1914. "Russia wishes for peace, but is ready for war. The army is not only large, but excellently equipped. Russia has always fought on Russian soil and has always been victorious. Russia is no longer on the defensive. Russia is ready." Exactly three months later there was another fanfare in the same tone, which concluded with the sentence: "Russia and France do not wish for war, but Russia is ready, and France must be also."

¹³² Izvolski to Sazonov, Sept. 12, 1912. *Livre Noir*, I. 326; *Deutschland Schuldig?* annex viii, app. 4.

¹³³ Count Benckendorff, the Russian ambassador in London, went so far as to say that "of all the Powers France is the only one that, not to say that it wishes war, would see it without great regret". Report to Sazonov, Feb. 25, 1913, *Livre Noir*, II. 304; *Deutschland Schuldig?* annex VIII., app. 10.

¹³⁴ Report of Treutler, minister in the German emperor's suite, to the Foreign Office, June 14, 1914. Montgelas, *Leitfaden*, pp. 191-194; *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXIX. 311-312.

military party that was scheming to overthrow Premier Pashitch and take control of the country. Dimitryevitch conceived the notion that the murder of the archduke would be a prophylaxis against the impending Austrian invasion, and, while he was in this mood, his friend and confidant, Major Voijsa Tankositch, appeared on the scene with two Bosniaks who were anxious to assassinate Francis Ferdinand. Dimitryevitch then made the arrangements which culminated in the catastrophe of June 28, 1914. When he informed the "Black Hand" of what he had done, it was aghast and persuaded him to countermand his orders; he claimed later that he tried to do so, but said that he was not obeyed. Such is the account vouched for by a Serbian historian, who denies that the Serbian government was in any way implicated.¹³⁵ Just what was the relation of the Austrian government to the tragedy and why there was not adequate police protection in Sarajevo are mysteries that are still discussed and still unsolved.¹³⁶

A month later both bloated armaments and serried alliances proved their futility. Bethmann-Hollweg and Count Berchtold hoped to bluff Russia into accepting the Austrian ultimatum and a military expedition against Serbia. M. Sazonov thought that by mobilization of the Russian army he could bluff Austria into foregoing her action against Serbia. Bethmann-Hollweg thought that by threat of war he could bluff Russia into retracting her mobilization. M. Viviani tried to bluff Germany by refusing to state what France would do, and so did Sir Edward Grey as to Great Britain. Not one of them desired a European conflagration, but each, for fear that his bluff would be called, sanctioned all military measures short of actual war, and these measures enabled the soldiers in Germany, who were "jumpy" in the extreme, to take control of the situation.¹³⁷ Whether the German general staff was justified in making the Russian mobilization¹³⁸ a *casus belli* is a much-discussed question; but discussion

¹³⁵ Stanoje Stanojevitch, *Die Ermordung des Erzherzogs Franz Ferdinand* (1923), pp. 43-56.

¹³⁶ R. Recouly, "L'Énigme de Sérajévo", in *Revue de France*, Apr. 1, 1922 (*Living Age*, May 6, 1922); Prince V. Ghika, "Le Meurtre de Sérajévo", in *Revue Universelle*, Apr. 15, 1923 (*Living Age*, June 9, 1923).

¹³⁷ Professor S. B. Fay ("New Light on the Origins of the War", III., in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVI. 251) shows that the German militarists got control on July 31, when the news of the Russian mobilization was received. In Russia, however, in spite of much pressure from the soldiers, it was Sazonov who persuaded the Tsar to order mobilization.

¹³⁸ The full story of the Russian mobilization has been told by Gen. Sergei Dobrorolski, the chief of the mobilization section of the Russian general staff, in his pamphlet, *Die Mobilmachung der Russischen Armee, 1914* (1922). From the very beginning of the crisis, the general staff regarded war as inevitable. Sazonov, however, hoped for peace until the Austrian declaration of war against Serbia. He

of it should not obscure the fact that this mobilization was ordered because Austria refused all concessions and that Austria refused all concessions because she was absolutely sure of German backing. In other words, not one of the three protagonists was willing to accept a diplomatic defeat, for the stake at issue was nothing less than the domination of the Near East; whichever side yielded, the rival diplomatic combination emerged as the director of European politics. It is perfectly true that when Bethmann perceived war to be imminent, under conditions different from those imagined at the moment the promise of support to Austria was given—for Italian neutrality and British intervention were looming up—he tried to draw back and exerted considerable pressure on Vienna.¹³⁹ But his action came too late, for he was unable to obtain concessions from his ally in time to stave off the Russian mobilization: he failed to prevent the war because he clung too long to his original plan of scoring a resounding triumph for the Triple Alliance. It can, however, be pleaded in Bethmann's favor that whereas he did, in the end, try to restrain Austria, France made but little effort to restrain Russia,¹⁴⁰ and France must therefore share with Germany the responsibility for then called for a general mobilization, and the ukase was signed on July 29. But before the orders could be sent off, they were countermanded by the Tsar, who substituted a partial mobilization. It was long believed that the general staff disobeyed the Tsar and went ahead with the general mobilization. Dobrorolski shows that this was not the case. The general mobilization was ordered on the afternoon of July 30, as a consequence of the general situation, the studied refusal of Austria to make any concessions, and the equivocal attitude of Germany. The argument was also used that the alliance with France bound Russia to mobilize if Austria mobilized (cf. Pribram, *Secret Treaties*, II. 215), and Austria had ordered a partial mobilization. But no orders to attack Germany were issued. Sazonov informed the French government that Russia would continue her military preparations until "an absolutely satisfactory answer from Austria had been received through the agency of the German government" (Sazonov to Izvolski, July 30, 1914, in *Livre Noir*, II. 292, and Romberg, p. 36).

¹³⁹ Bethmann to Tschirschky, July 27, 1914, in *Die Deutschen Dokumente zum Kriegsausbruch*, no. 279; July 28, *ibid.*, no. 323; July 29, *ibid.*, no. 361; July 30, *ibid.*, nos. 395, 396.

¹⁴⁰ The French government did urge its ally not to take any steps which would give Germany an excuse to mobilize, and even suggested that "in the higher interests of peace" Russia might declare her willingness "to slow down her preparations for mobilization for the time being". Izvolski to Sazonov, July 30, 1914, nos. 208, 210, in *Livre Noir*, II. 290, and Romberg, pp. 36, 37. But France did not suggest that Russia should alter her attitude, for it had been bluntly informed that Russia would not do so. Sazonov to Izvolski, July 27, 1914, in *Livre Noir*, II. 280, and Romberg, p. 20. That France preferred war to sacrificing the alliance is seen from the statement made to Izvolski, at 1 a.m. on Aug. 1 (that is, after the German ultimatum practically demanding French neutrality had been received), that "the French government has firmly decided on war". Izvolski to Sazonov, Aug. 1, 1914, in *Livre Noir*, II. 294, and Romberg, p. 41.

making the fate of Serbia a clear-cut issue between the Triple and the Dual Alliances. But if France cannot be credited with any positive step to preserve peace, she is certainly absolved from what is the most serious charge against Germany. For Sir Edward Grey saw that the only escape from the *impasse* was to bring the Concert of Europe into action, and his proposal to that end was accepted by France, Russia, and Italy. It was the refusal of Germany to follow this lead, before the diplomatic situation had been overtaken by military measures, which made Great Britain finally range herself with France and Russia, prevented a compromise between the Alliance and the Entente, forced each group to maintain its position, and thus precipitated the war.

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

BRITISH SECRET SERVICE AND THE FRENCH-AMERICAN ALLIANCE¹

IT lies in the very nature of his trade that the international spy should, whenever he can, obliterate the traces of his work; nevertheless, despite his efforts, his story will sometimes leave material for the sober historian, to be used when, decades after the events, confidential archives are opened. In them may be found two principal classes of sources, which have served for the preparation of this narrative: reports of operatives and spies to their superior officers, which in turn were digested and summarized for perusal by high executives, and petitions and memorials for reward for past services rendered. From such material one can reconstruct a hitherto untold chapter of the diplomatic history of the American Revolution that should awe the genius of Mr. E. Phillips Oppenheim himself.

The British intelligence service during the early years of the American Revolution was under the direction of William Eden, then an ambitious under-secretary of state, who later as Lord Auckland was one of that group of brilliant diplomatists who developed their talent during the long struggle against the forces of the French Revolution and the brains and battalions of Bonaparte. He recruited his well-paid informants from among American-born British subjects who found themselves in England at the beginning of the war, men who could easily pose as patriots or at least as friendly disposed to the Revolutionary cause. His right-hand man was Paul Wentworth, of the famous New Hampshire family of that name but otherwise biographically obscure.² It was he who helped to digest the great mass of informative matter arriving from numerous secret correspondents in Europe and America, and who continuously made rapid and hazardous trips back and forth across the Channel in the prosecution of his enterprises. At first considered by the Continental Congress as a loyal American and made one of its confidential correspondents in London in 1774, he soon attached himself rather abjectly to the party in power in England and to the particular political fortunes of Eden, in whose future he justly placed great confidence. He had a salary of £200 a year, with liberal expense accounts and a vague promise of a baronetcy, a seat in Parliament, and a sinecure

¹ This paper was read at the Columbus meeting of the American Historical Association, Dec. 29, 1923.

² Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, I. 661, gives the few references

on one of the administrative boards of government in case of marked success.³ His bargain with the ministry is characteristic of the place-hunter and spy of the time, though Wentworth was a very able man who was willing to work hard for his reward. His despatches and those of others of this gentry reveal no more than conventional expressions of patriotism and sacrifice. They were working their jobs for the main chance.

Wentworth at the beginning of his career had submitted some historical and geographical memoirs on the colonial controversy. The geographical and economic information contained in them came from his personal experience. For the historical background so profusely employed to illustrate political points he drew from Dr. Edward Bancroft's *Remarks on a Review of the Controversy between Great Britain and her Colonies*,⁴ an argument for a constitutional adjustment to reconcile the colonies within the empire. Wentworth had helped the author in the preparation of the manuscript.⁵ Bancroft, a native of Westfield, Massachusetts, was educated in England as a physician. A widely travelled man, he was more than a dabbler in that field of general scientific curiosity which then passed for "philosophy". With this versatility he combined a tolerable gift for writing and a well-concealed but unrivalled genius for intrigue. His essays had won him the friendship of Franklin during the latter's long sojourn in London. When Silas Deane appeared in France as the first diplomatic representative of the United States abroad, he carried not only his instructions written by Benjamin Franklin but letters of introduction to Bancroft. These brought the essay-writer over from England to become Deane's intimate associate. When Franklin himself and a little later the proud and jealous Arthur Lee joined Deane to make a joint commission, Bancroft continued to be the confidant of the American representatives, with the exception of Lee. Lee expressed suspicions of Bancroft's loyalty. Bancroft boldly and successfully challenged the accusation as an insult to his integrity. No

³ See Wentworth to Eden, Dec. 12, 1777, Jan. 1 and 4, 1778, Apr. 3, 1778, in Auckland MSS., as preserved in photographic copies in Stevens's *Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives relating to America, 1773-1783*, nos. 315, 328, 768, 343. Hereinafter we shall refer to the facsimiles as SF.

A note of John Robinson, secretary of the Treasury, to General Sir William Howe, Mar. 8, 1777, suggests that Wentworth may have enjoyed this salary in addition to an allowance of £500 a year made to Governor Wentworth, "to be paid to his relation Mr. Wentworth". The Lords of the Treasury expected the latter would not draw any more bills on his salary, as a consequence. See Hist. MSS. Commission, *Report on American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution of Great Britain*, I. 94.

⁴ London, 1769.

⁵ Wentworth to Eden, Dec. 17, 1777, Auckland MSS. (SF 231).

proof could be produced, and Lee's querulous and quarrelsome conduct soon lost him the confidence of his own colleagues as well as that of the French Foreign Office.⁶ Despite several nerve-shaking escapes from detection, Bancroft maintained his confidential position. After the dissolution of the commission he remained the friend and adviser of Franklin, "assisting" him throughout the war and during the peace negotiations of 1782-1783.⁷

While engaged as secretary and adviser to the Commissioners Bancroft made mysterious trips back and forth to London. In the course of one of these he engaged himself, through Wentworth, to supply the ministry with information of the secret activities of the Commissioners.⁸ The immunity with which he passed back and forth to enemy territory ought to have opened the eyes of all three of the American agents, but he allayed any suspicions which might have arisen by furnishing them with what purported to be secret information obtained in London. While really faithful to the British side, which paid him the most money, he posed as an American spy. From the Commissioners he drew a secretary's salary, and even cleverly complained and threatened to quit, when his pay was delayed. Franklin and Deane to the end believed him a sacrificing American patriot and an honorable gentleman. His strange career for a long time misled historians of the Revolution. Dr. Wharton in his edition of the *Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States*,⁹ after analyzing the question of the man's loyalty, concludes that he was one hundred per cent. American. He thus laughs away the accusations against him:

It may hereafter appear, on the unearthing of the secret-service papers of the British foreign office, that this [that of a spy] was really Bancroft's position. But if it be so, he presents a case of which history affords no parallel. To believe him guilty of such atrocious and yet exquisitely subtle perfidy we must believe that, ingenuous, simple-hearted,

⁶ P. L. Ford, *Edward Bancroft's Narrative of the Objects and Proceedings of Silas Deane, as Commissioner of the United Colonies to France; made to the British Government in 1776* (Brooklyn, N. Y., Historical Printing Club, 1891); Bancroft's "Memorial" to Carmarthen, Sept. 16, 1784, British Public Record Office, F. O. 4:3, printed at the end of this article.

⁷ See the Memorial referred to in the preceding foot-note.

⁸ Wentworth to Suffolk, Nov. 16, 1777, Auckland MSS. (SF 218), speaks of the "£200 due next quarter" to Bancroft. For exact state of Bancroft's emoluments at various times, see his Memorial of Sept. 16, 1784, to Carmarthen, *infra*.

⁹ I. 640-641. Bancroft's true identity was pointed out by Mr. P. L. Ford, *op. cit.*, after an examination of a part of the Stevens facsimiles. Ford printed in that year a typical report of the agent, together with a short biography. The historian George Bancroft guessed E. Bancroft's real character as early as 1866; *History of the United States*, IX. 62, 64. It is apparently to George Bancroft's undocumented but reliable statement that Dr. Wharton was directing the above passage.

and credulous as he appeared to the general observer, occupying to Franklin and to America a position not unlike what Boswell did to Johnson and Corsica, though with certain scientific aptitudes to which Boswell laid no claim and with an apparent occasional heroism of which Boswell was incapable, he was, nevertheless, a dissembler so artful as to defy the scrutiny of Franklin, with whom he was in constant intercourse; an intriguer so skillful as, without money or power, to deceive Vergennes and the multitudinous police with which Vergennes encircled him; a villain so profoundly wary as to win the confidence of Paul Jones, professedly aiding him in desperate secret raids on the British coast, and yet, by an art almost unfathomable, reserving the disclosure of these secrets to British officials until a future day which never came; a double traitor, whose duplicity was so masterly as to be unsuspected by the British court, which held him to be a rebel; and by such men as LaFayette, as John Adams, as Jefferson, who regarded him as a true friend. This amusing combination of apparently absolutely inconsistent characteristics may exist in bewildering harmony in the character of Edward Bancroft; but such a phenomenon should not be believed to exist without strong proof.

We quote all this because we cannot improve on it as an eloquent description of Bancroft's perfidy. For the secret-service papers are now unearthed, so far as Bancroft is concerned, and have long been adequately available in the Stevens photographic facsimiles of the private papers of Lord Auckland.

In December, 1776, Bancroft entered into a written engagement, through Wentworth, to correspond with him and Lord Stormont, in return for a payment of £500 down and £400 per annum.¹⁰ His correspondence, under the fictitious name of "Dr. Edwards", was to be left regularly in a sealed bottle in the hole of a tree on the south side of the Tuileries. He also had frequent clandestine interviews with Wentworth. It was stipulated that he should supply "his knowledge" of the following subjects:

The progress of the Treaty with France, and of the assistance expected, or commerce carried on or in any of the ports of that Kingdom.

The same with Spain, and of every other Court in Europe.

The agents in the foreign islands in America, and the means of carrying on the Commerce with the Northern Colonys.

The means of obtaining credit—effects and money; and the channels and agents used to apply them; the secret moves about the Courts of France and Spain, and the Congress agents, and tracing the lines from one to the other.

¹⁰ See Ford, p. 9, and "Engagement of Dr. Edwards" in the hand of Paul Wentworth, Auckland MSS. (SF 235). Bancroft's loyalty to the ministry did not pass unsuspected by his employers, but it stood the test of opening up his private correspondence in the post-office, and of various other checks which we shall see were put on him. Compare this with Bancroft's Memorial of Sept. 17, 1784, to Carmarthen, *infra*.

Franklin's and Deane's correspondence with the Congress, and their agents; and the secret, as well as the ostensible letters from the Congress to them. Cops of any transactions, committed to papers, and an exact account of all intercourse and the subject matter treated of, between the Courts of Versailles and Madrid, and the agents from Congress.

Subjects to be communicated to Lord Stormont.

Names of the two Carolina ships, masters both English and French, description of the ships, and cargoes; the time of sailing, and the port bound to.

The same circumstances respecting all equipments in any port in Europe together with the names of the agents employed.

The intelligence that may arrive from America, the captures made by their privateers, and the instructions they receive from the deputys.

How the captures are disposed of.

The serviceable communications of the double-dealing doctor, enabling the ministry to read the innermost secrets of the American Commissioners and to place their cruisers across the track of munition shipments to Washington's army, as well as to supply the British minister at Paris (Lord Stormont) with material for protesting French violations of neutrality, were only a part of Eden's abundant American intelligence. A scheme was devised to get hold of a large number of the original despatches of the Commissioners, for Bancroft's secretarial duties left him time to copy only the more important documents and to make digests of the rest of the information that passed under his attention. Eden doubtless also wished the satisfaction of checking his spy's copies by comparison with the originals. The plan, referred to in the Auckland papers as the "Hynson business", may now be set forth.

Deane had in France with him as personal secretary one William Carmichael of Maryland, a young man of some independent means, plausible parts, and a large but not very shrewd liking for backstairs work.¹¹ A sojourn in England had brought him into touch with the radical politics of the day. He had also been a seeker after the lower pleasures of London resorts and, perhaps in that channel, had made the acquaintance of a number of American sea-captains who plied the trans-Atlantic trade in the days before the Prohibitory Acts. His taste for such companionship did not improve his personal morals but brought him acquaintance, which later proved useful

¹¹ Carmichael sums up his career in France in a letter to Franklin, dated Feb. 1, 1778, preserved in manuscript among the Franklin Papers, VIII. 82, in the collections of the American Philosophical Society, in Philadelphia. See also his letter to the Committee of Correspondence, Wharton, II. 184-189. He was appointed secretary to the Commissioners by Congress, Nov. 28, 1777, but was sent home by the Commissioners before his commission reached France. *Calendar of Franklin Papers*, IV. 244.

to the American cause, with the very men who might be recruited to command privateers and munition ships clandestinely fitting out in France. Carmichael was deputed by the Commissioners to the task of enlisting such services.¹² One of the persons thus approached was a certain Joseph Hynson, a fellow Marylander. According to the intelligence of Eden the two men, Carmichael and Hynson, showed considerable affection for each other and had mistresses who inhabited the same house in London. Hynson was an experienced seaman of the adventurous sort well adapted to the work in hand. Out of employment and funds, he was anxious, he professed, to return to America. It was arranged that a cutter should be surreptitiously purchased at Dover and cleared ostensibly on an innocent voyage. Hynson was then to take her to France to be fitted out as a swift-sailing armed packet-boat to serve as a means of regular transmission of the Commissioners' despatches to Congress. He was to command her on the first voyage and thus advantageously achieve his desire of returning to his native land.

To his close friends, Hynson let it be known that he was off in the service of the Americans on some such adventure, mysteriously hinted at but never wholly explained. A certain Reverend John Vardill, a Tory in Eden's employ (who had for his wages the promise of a professorship in "the collège at New York" when the rebellion should have been suppressed), was known by these friends to have held out to Hynson a profitable offer to betray his American connections. The valiant sea-captain in vigorous terms let it be understood that he had indignantly repulsed such overtures. Actually he accepted them. It was fixed that he should take the packet out of Dover without hindrance from the Admiralty, which was made cognizant of the whole plot. After leaving a French port with the American despatches he was to sail the ship into a trap set by British cruisers. A long correspondence on this subject, in which appears an intelligence officer named Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Smith, and elaborate signals concerted with the navy, is preserved among Eden's papers.¹³

Hynson took the ship across the Channel as desired by both parties. While she was being refitted with some delay he spent his time at Paris in close touch with the Commissioners and in intimacy with his friend Carmichael. With their errands he passed back and

¹² "Statement concerning the Employment of Lieut. Col. Edward Smith with regard to Captain Hynson and a Sketch of the Information obtained", March, 1777, Auckland MSS. (SF 248).

¹³ The numerous documents may be found by consulting the index to the Stevens *Facsimiles*, vol. XXV., under the heads of Hynson, Smith, etc.

forth to the French ports and was able to get much marine information highly desirable to the British embassy and ministry, to which it was promptly relayed through Smith, whom Hynson regarded as his superior officer. Carmichael was not unaware of Hynson's connections with Smith. The Commissioners' agent appears in the rôle of such an intimate friend as not to have divulged his knowledge. He not only continued to be intimate with the spy but himself actually went to the verge, if not over the edge, of treason. Smith had hopes, through Hynson, of contaminating Carmichael, and reported to Eden that the American had gone so far as to promise if necessary to steal from the Commissioners such papers as Hynson might require.¹⁴ But the investigator is puzzled in determining Carmichael's precise status—if indeed it can be precisely defined—by a memorial of his written at about this time,¹⁵ for Vergennes's eye, in which he urged that France should come into an American alliance as the one way of abasing Britain before she should have successfully offered peace terms to the sorely tried revolted colonies.

For various reasons, none of which shows any distrust of Hynson's perfect loyalty, Franklin and Deane decided to send out the despatches on an earlier boat under the command of one Captain Folger. They were forwarded to Folger in Hynson's care at Havre. Hynson delivered the despatch pouch, but the contents which Folger received and unsuspectingly carried to America proved when opened by the Committee of Correspondence of the Continental Congress to be a wad of blank paper.¹⁶ Long before the abstraction could be known by the Commissioners, even before the rifled pouch could have reached America, Hynson had personally delivered the despatches to Smith in England, and Eden had the satisfaction of carefully arranging about six months' accumulation of them for the private perusal of George III., who sometimes had doubted the loyalty of the various British operatives working in France.¹⁷ "Hynson has by this con-

¹⁴ "Information obtained by Lt. Col. Smith during the six weeks of his intercourse with Capt. Hynson, in February and March, 1777", Mar. 27-28, 1777, Auckland MSS. (SF 670).

¹⁵ Carmichael to the Count ———, 1777, SF 647. This long memoir, and a translation by the Count d'Estaing, is preserved in the French archives. What appears to be an obliterated month date after the "1777" might be "1 Jan'y", "1 July", or less likely "1 June". The memorial also speaks of the "ensuing winter". Because of this internal evidence, and the probability that the first letter of the month of the date begins with a "J", I conclude the memorial to have been written by Carmichael at some time during the first six weeks of 1777, and not during the November and December negotiations.

¹⁶ Lt.-Col. Edward Smith to Eden, Oct. 20, 1777, Auckland MSS. (SF 205); Wharton, II. 664.

¹⁷ Wrapper with Eden's endorsement on which is added a Note by the King. Apr. 6, 1777, Auckland MSS. (SF 249).

duct fully discharged his promises made some months ago", wrote Eden to the king. "Lord North gave him at my desire £200, and the promise of £200 a year. He was an honest rascal, and no fool though apparently stupid."¹⁸

The honest rascal now hurried back to France, but found himself mistrusted. Deane refused to have anything to do with him.¹⁹ His "old friends" the Americans, with the exception of Carmichael, deserted him. The miserable wretch, who thought the milk of human kindness should cause a little thing like the possibility of treason to be overlooked by the friends he studied to betray, was quite unhappy. He remained hidden in his room, only occasionally slipping out to send a despatch by Lord Stormont's couriers to Smith. He urged that officer to come to Paris and explain things to the Commissioners, to assure them that he, Hynson, had not unduly "expanded himself". He thought that a reassuring word from Smith might smooth over his ruptured friendship with them!

The day after his arrival at Paris Hynson breakfasted with Carmichael, who gave him a message from the Commissioners asking whether Smith would soon be in Paris. Apparently they regarded the latter as a reputable British agent with whom some sort of honest negotiations might be possible. Hynson replied that he expected him soon. In a letter to Smith, Hynson says that the Commissioners desired him to keep low until Smith's arrival. "They at the same time said that the French Court had knowledge of my going to England and that they [*i.e.*, the Commissioners] were accused of sending me there, which was the reason they could not agree to see me at present." Soon Hynson reported that even Carmichael was now forbidden to visit him.²⁰ Carmichael nevertheless made such visits clandestinely (at least Hynson believed they were clandestine). During one of them occurred this interesting conversation, as reported in Hynson's own grammar and spelling to Smith:

[Carmichael] was expressing a great desire that you come to Paris. I asked him what end he thought it would answer. He said a very great one, that the gentln was [*were?*] wishing to have some conversation with you, I told him there was one thing, that the Commissioners would harken

¹⁸ William Eden to George III., Oct. 20, 1777, Auckland MSS. (SF 275).

¹⁹ "I do not write you to reproach you for the ungrateful and treacherous part you have acted:—I leave this to your own reflections, but as you have had the assurance to write to me, and to propose the betraying your new patrons, in the manner you have wickedly but in vain attempted to betray your former, and with them your Country, I must tell you that no letters from you will hereafter be received by—DEANE." Deane to Hynson, Paris, Oct. 26, 1777, Auckland MSS. (SF 208).

²⁰ J. Hynson to Nicholas Noel [Smith], Nov. 23, 1777, Auckland MSS. (SF 308); Hynson to Smith, Nov. 25, *ibid.* (SF 309).

to nothing but independance, and that was what England would never allow them. He said if there was to be a meeting we might talk high at first. I told him that would answer no end, did he think the Gentlemen would expect any other terms, than that of independance. He said there was a division about giving up their independance, but he said you would be surprised to hear Dr. Franklin says that whenever Great Britain would shew a disposn for peace he would be the first to give up this independance. Mr. Deane he said had made the same declaration. But Dr. Franklin said he knew they had no mind for peace. He said Mr. Lee lived in a higher stile than he had ever done, and had a great deal of pride, he dare say he would wish to continue as he was, therefore he was the only one that would be against giving up independance but declared it would be given up immediately upon England's showing a disposn for peace. This was before any of the accounts [that is, of Burgoyne's surrender, news of which reached the port of Nantes on November 30, 1777].

On December 10, after that news had arrived at Paris, Carmichael came again. "When I asked him what the Gentlemen seemed to talk of at present he said of nothing but their success. He believed it was too late to think of anything now. I therefore at present will not urge your coming to Paris."²¹

Even Carmichael's visits now stopped. Suspected by the Comte de Vergennes, he was ordered back to America, with despatches. At first there was question of his being entrusted with these, but somebody broke into his room and found his correspondence innocent; Franklin and Deane therefore insisted on his bearing the papers as a mark of their esteem and respect;²² at least this is Wentworth's account of it, though it is likely that what reached him was a distorted version of the plundering of Lee's papers by Carmichael, at Deane's instigation.²³ Hynson, humanly lonely and in despair, begged to be relieved of his service and given employment in America.²⁴ He was no longer able to get anything out of the Commissioners and he had been told that if he continued in Paris he was likely to be arrested as a spy. "It is a carracter I heartily despise," he wrote, "I had rather you would send me to Amerrica as a common soldier, where I might

²¹ Hynson to Smith, Paris, Dec. 10, 1777, Auckland MSS. (SF 314).

²² Wentworth to Eden, Jan. 6, 1778, Auckland MSS. (SF 332).

²³ "At a meeting of the Commissioners for the United States, held at Passi Jan. 7 1778 Mr. Deane informed Mr. Lee that he did not open Mr. Lee's Dispatches. That Mr. Carmichael did open them. That Mr. Carmichael was now in possession of the Book in which they were written; which Mr. Deane believed he intended to carry to America with him. That Mr. Deane had written for and expected a Copy of them. That they contained a Libel on two of the best men in America; for which Mr. Deane knew one of them to be a man of such spirit, that if he knew it, he would come over on purpose to call Mr. Lee to account for it." Silas Deane to the American Commissioners. Memorandum, January, 1778. See *Calendar of Franklin Papers*, I. 358, referring to volume VIII. 85a, of the manuscripts, in American Philosophical Society.

²⁴ Hynson to Smith, Dec. 10, 1777, Auckland MSS. (SF 314).

be of some use.”²⁵ Despite the previous largesses of the ministry he again asked for money. Eden wrote Smith that “the trifling sum [£40] would readily be reimbursed, and with pleasure if Mr. Hynson would either catch Mr. Deane or Mr. Carmichael who have departed with despatches in different ships”.²⁶

Carmichael as early as November 1, 1777, had written to an unidentified English correspondent, presumably a publicist of the Opposition, a letter which was intercepted in the English post-office and delivered over to Eden. In it was mentioned a peace without victory. “It might well be imagined that some scheme of accommodation might be hit upon which would make us good friends. If we could on one side lose the idea of supremacy and on the other that of dependence we might be friends by treaty, never by confederation.” He represented “our leading man” as trembling for fear lest his propositions to France should be accepted. “He wishes no European connection. He despises France and hates England.” Carmichael professed to be eager to secure the interests of his constituents (whoever they were). “I would implicitly follow every instruction that meant their ease, their success and their present happiness, though the mode should be contrary to what I should chuse of doing it. I wish you would busy yourself with paragraphs on the folly of the war. . . .”²⁷

Carmichael’s letter, and his later interviews with Hynson, professed to indicate that there was—at least before Burgoyne’s surrender—some division on the question of independence among the American Commissioners and that they, with the exception of Arthur Lee, might have been willing to arrange a peace by compromise. The despatches intercepted by Hynson also revealed these dissensions and supported the same idea. Similar information was furnished by the communications of another British spy, one Thornton, who served as Arthur Lee’s personal secretary and whose information is less important than that of Bancroft only because Lee lacked the confidence of the other two Commissioners and of the French court.²⁸ Lee’s papers, too, had been stolen from him that summer in Berlin by the British minister to that court, Hugh Elliot, whom a grateful

²⁵ Hynson to Smith, Dec. 17, 1777, Auckland MSS. (SF 316).

²⁶ Eden to Suffolk, December, 1777 (precise date not given), Auckland MSS. (SF 312). The allusion is to Mr. Simeon Deane, a brother of the Commissioner.

²⁷ William Carmichael to “Monsieur Jean Trouville”, Nov. 1, 1777, Auckland MSS. (SF 288).

²⁸ See Wharton, I. 659. After Lee signed the French treaties Thornton was able to send a draft to London. His most dangerous activities were in his representations of himself to Lee as an American spy and his furnishing false military information, which Lee trustfully sent over to the Congress. *Ibid.*, I. 208.

ministry rewarded with a gentle reprimand and £1000 cash.²⁹ All this news agreed with and neatly supplemented that of the agile Bancroft. Only a fortnight after the successful completion of the Hynson business one of Bancroft's personal letters to an English correspondent was opened in the mails by other agents of the argus-eyed Eden. To a correspondent in the City who was his partner in stocks and insurance speculations and also one of his friends in the Opposition party, Bancroft revealed information not sent in to Wentworth, news to the effect that Burgoyne's invasion from Canada had been stopped and that his army, after severe losses, was in retreat.³⁰ By this news Bancroft and his partners were able to anticipate the great drop in the value of British funds that followed the announcement. He must have made a "killing" on the London 'Change. Wentworth a few weeks later reported him to be very flush with money.³¹

If the well-informed Bancroft was willing to gamble on his information, the ministry had its forebodings. Ministers who had just been expressing to each other in exuberant terms the fine mettle of their health and indulging in long week-ends in the country actually began to lose sleep and really to worry over the outcome of the campaign in America. A victory by the Americans might invite the open acceptance of their cause by France and Spain. It boded nothing less than a possible break-up of the empire. The military situation made a peace manoeuvre desirable, particularly when the several sources of intelligence from Paris indicated division of opinion among the American Commissioners and an apparent willingness of Franklin and Deane to accept a reconciliation within the empire. Eden began to formulate propositions of peace which were eventually adopted by Lord North. In order to give any overtures a bigger chance of success he resolved to sound out the American Commissioners to learn whether they would agree to any peace short of actual independence.

The Paris intrigues were now taken out of the hands of Hynson and Smith and placed under the more expert management of Wentworth, the emissary usually employed on the most important and delicate business.³² He was hurriedly ordered to France with a writ-

²⁹ Elliot had estimated his expenses in this job to be £500: the correspondence relating to the dishonorable business is preserved in the Auckland MSS. (SF 1451-1481).

³⁰ Bancroft to Thomas Walpole, undated, received Nov. 7, 1777, Auckland MSS. (SF 289). The letter quoted information received by a vessel which left Portsmouth on Sept. 4. It spoke of a loss of 600 to 800 men in one engagement (probably that at Bennington, Aug. 15).

³¹ Wentworth to Eden, end of 1777, Auckland MSS. (SF 324).

³² Beaumarchais's agents shadowed Wentworth in Paris, as of course did the police. On Dec. 17 Beaumarchais warned Vergennes: "He is related to the Mar-

ten commission dated December 6, 1777, directing him to ascertain the Commissioners' idea of a peace, to secure full information of their relations with France, Spain, and the other powers of Europe, the naval preparations under way in the two Bourbon monarchies, and in general everything of significance as to the rapidly developing European crisis, which it was hoped to prevent by interesting the Americans in a peace negotiation before they could conclude an alliance with France. Wentworth carried no actual powers to treat of peace; all he had was a letter from Eden full of amiable expressions of conciliation and respect for Franklin, written shortly after the news of Burgoyne's actual surrender was announced in London. This he might read to Deane and Franklin. The gist is well stated in its last paragraphs:

We have often been asked here, "Do you mean anything short of unconditional surrender?" I wish to answer that question by putting another to those who are in the confidence of the colonies; "do you mean anything short of unqualified independence?" If they answer in the negative I have only to tell them that nothing less than a ten years' unsuccessful war can prepare this country for such an ultimatum. But if they answer: "We are indeed at this moment independent *de facto*, yet we cannot wish any peace to leave us in that state, which, every circumstance considered, might end in a wild anarchy and confusion; still less can we wish to place the qualified controul, which should rest somewhere, in the hands of nations who are strangers to our blood, language, and constitutional principles of Government." In reply to such an answer (and such an answer I should expect from wise and good men) I would request them to proceed and tell me frankly and seriously their sentiments both as to the grounds of an accommodation and the mode of negotiating it.

Well, but how shall all this and the various matters connected with it be negotiated? How will the voice of peace be heard in the midst of such a war?

I shall shortly and in the fewest words add, that if I knew any clear or indeed plausible answers to these questions, and the others which they obviously imply, I am cordially disposed and fortunately situated to turn such knowledge to the most immediate, and most benevolent purposes. I hope to hear from you.³³

quis of Rockingham; is a particular friend of Lord Suffolk, is employed by the Ministers in difficult matters, keeping in touch with the Opposition as much as with the Royalists; . . . This Mr. Wentworth speaks French like you, and better than I do; he is one of the cleverest men in England. So early as last year he made efforts in Paris with the same object.

"I also know that two Americans, one of whom is Carmichael, are about to leave for America with very important despatches. Now these would give us information!" Archives des Affaires Étrangères, Angleterre, vol. 526, f. 270 (SF 1781).

³³ Eden to Wentworth, Dec. 5, 1777, Auckland MSS. (SF 483). For Eden's instructions to Wentworth see "Minutes arranged with Mr. Wentworth", Dec. 6, 1777, *ibid.* (SF 484).

In Paris Wentworth met further details of the smashing defeat of Burgoyne and news to the effect that Howe appeared to be hemmed in at Philadelphia by Washington's troops.³⁴ He found that Bancroft had gone "on the wing" to London, there to collect some sort of insurance "which may affect Deane and Company". Actually Bancroft's journey was, we think, to collect his recent winnings, and perhaps in a manoeuvre of confidence to the Commissioners to sound out the British Opposition as to its strength and peace attitude after Saratoga. On December 17, Wentworth managed to have a "secret and confidential" interview with Deane. He suggested that the war had been forced on the British ministry by circumstances not under its control, that they were now anxious to undo a mistaken policy, and that they rather than any Opposition party coming into power were the persons who could best negotiate such a devoutly-to-be-wished-for consummation. He prefaced his peace proposals with a long historical disquisition, illustrated by quotations from Bancroft's essay of 1769, and frequently interrupted by rejoinders from Deane. He then broached a programme for which, he said, he was solely responsible, namely a reversion to the colonial status of 1763 with a repeal of the obnoxious acts passed since that date. Deane stood out for absolute independence as necessary for any possible negotiations. After several hours' animated discussion both men, exhausted, adjourned till later in the day. They then went over the ground again and Wentworth proposed an armistice with cessation of hostilities by sea and land, British troops to be withdrawn from everywhere except "New York Island", Long Island, Governor's Island, Staten Island, and Shelter Island. Long Island was to continue permanently in the possession of the king's forces, in a situation which he compared to the barrier fortresses of the Netherlands, while the smaller islands mentioned were to be neutralized for the sake of safe barriers to Long Island. As a precedent for this he cited the Dunkirk humiliation imposed by Great Britain on France in the peace of 1763! Confidence and security thus established, continued Wentworth, commissioners might then be appointed by Great Britain to work out the details of a peace based on a commercial union and the "grand basis of the Navigation Acts". He then took Deane up on to a high mountain and turned his vision to a panorama of honors and emoluments for the leaders who might be successful in effecting such a reconciliation: governors-general, privy seals, great seals, treasurers, secretaries, councillors in the general governments (Wentworth conceived of three such general governments for the colonies),

³⁴ Wentworth to Eden, Paris, Dec. 11, 1777, Auckland MSS. (SF 225).

local barons and knights. This he left to work on the minds of the Commissioners. Deane is not recorded as having offered any comment in this connection. Wentworth ended by developing a grand scheme for agricultural education and the development of American lands after a reconciliation should have been achieved.³⁵

Two anxious weeks passed before the British agent could arrange another interview. Meanwhile rumors spread that the French court had declared itself in favor of open recognition of the United States and a treaty of amity and commerce—which it actually did on December 6—rumors which in the absence of Bancroft he could not with certainty confirm. Carmichael, with Deane's brother, was leaving for America with important despatches. This made Wentworth all the more suspicious. By the twenty-fifth Bancroft had returned from London. Through him Wentworth attempted again to arrange a meeting with the Commissioners. They instructed Bancroft to wait until the next Monday before replying to the Englishman and then to endeavor to amuse him with hopes and difficulties until the despatches were well on their way. Bancroft of course told this to Wentworth. The latter grew nervous and harassed in spirit. In such a great and critical moment, he wrote his chief, he could not rely entirely on Bancroft. The latter had been in conference with the Opposition and admitted having brought back a packet—he did not believe him when he said it was sealed—for the Commissioners. Other unofficial peacemakers were suspected of approaching the Americans at this time, in anticipation of the opening of Parliament on January 20.

Take care that America and the West Indies don't glide through our fingers, [Wentworth wrote,] while we by inefficient means try to prevent alarm, and hush up a perilous situation, perhaps only so because we shrink from it. . . . I have determined to amuse the agents by hopes of all they wish—it can do no harm—and if you are alert the business can be done in America either way [*i.e.*, by peace or war]—by peace the safest—before these insidious people throw poison there. . . . Ambitious as I am to be an [English peace] Commissioner—while I am here, I can't be elsewhere, yet I see so strong the necessity to despatch privately—if possible in England—and wait the approbation of Parliament, that I urge it against my own hopes. Ed—[Bancroft] is not all that he should be. He offered to repay all that he had received. That cursed journey to London has spoiled all . . . ³⁶

Finally, on January 6, 1778, an interview was arranged, through Bancroft, with Franklin. It occurred under the express condition

³⁵ Wentworth to Eden, Paris, Dec. 17, 1777, Auckland MSS. (SF 231).

³⁶ See letters of Wentworth to Eden, Dec. 17, 18, 22, 25, 28, 29, 1777, Jan. 1, 1778, Auckland MSS. (SF 231, 317, 234, 233, 321, 322, 722, 327).

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that Arthur Lee should not be present, a stipulation by Wentworth which was agreeable for both Franklin and Deane to accept. Ostensibly the meeting occurred on the score of old acquaintanceship. Franklin made a condition that there should be not the remotest allusion to personal emoluments such as had been mentioned to Deane. At the outset he let it be known that the Americans would consent to no peace without independence, that he had no powers to treat, and that he could not have anything more than a polite conversation with anyone who had no powers on the part of Great Britain. Wentworth then read Eden's letter without revealing the author. Franklin said it was "interesting", but straightway he launched out into a discursive and lively harangue on British barbarism and military atrocities in America. Wentworth tried to "moderate" him, and repeatedly endeavored to bring him back to the point, and to demonstrate the advantages of maintaining an imperial union. "I never knew him to be so eccentric," he reported, "nobody says less generally and keeps a point more closely in view, but he was diffuse and unmethodical to-day." Wentworth suggested, too, that Franklin and Deane be given protection for a journey to negotiate in England—which would have separated them from Vergennes at a critical moment. To all these remarks Franklin replied loosely and indefinitely. Finally in Deane's presence he declared "that if the [British] Commissioners were appointed to meet them properly authorized he would treat of Peace—I say Peace—I am ready and I am sure my colleagues are so on the broad bottom of reciprocal advantage".³⁷

With this equivocal answer Wentworth set out for London on January 15, carrying the additional discomforting information from Bancroft that the Commissioners hoped soon to negotiate a treaty of independence with a government made up of the Opposition.³⁸

The most significant and interesting part of this chapter of secret diplomacy is the use Franklin made of it. Surrounded by spies in his own household, himself provided with no secret service other than that furnished him by British agents who affected to be American patriots, the shrewd and unassuming old man, outranking them all in acumen, profited prodigiously from these backstairs dealings. He

³⁷ Wentworth to Eden, Jan. 7, 1778, Auckland MSS. (SF 489). See also Wentworth's other despatches during the first week in January, *ibid.* (SF 324, 325, 329, and 769).

³⁸ Wentworth to Eden, Paris, Jan. 10, 1778, Auckland MSS. (SF 335). A Sir Philip Gibbes, who seems to have represented the Opposition, was approaching Franklin at this time. See Wentworth to Eden, Jan. 7, 1778, *ibid.* (SF 489), and Gibbes to Franklin, Paris, Jan. 5, 1778, Franklin Papers, VIII. 15, in American Philosophical Society. This letter asked for an appointment to consider peace on the basis of "constitutional principles". I have found no answer to it by Franklin.

took no pains to conceal from Vergennes that he had received peace approaches. Though he said nothing of the Wentworth interview, Wentworth's presence and purpose were known to the French Foreign Minister and to his police.³⁹ Bancroft had received from an unidentified correspondent in England on December 17 a letter requesting him, in view of his close connection with the Commissioners, to discover what terms would be acceptable to them. He was told that the government intended to make through Parliament an offer of peace as soon as the recess was over. The writer hoped that something "a little short of independence" might be acceptable.⁴⁰ Bancroft gave this to the Commissioners and Franklin turned it over to Vergennes. France a week previously had declared for open aid and a recognition of independence. A treaty was actually in negotiation, but the final signature depended on whether Spain, the ally of the Bourbon Family Compact, would join France. On December 31 it was known that Spain would not. Should France go in alone? Now or never was the time for Vergennes to decide. If he waited longer for the policy of Spain to change, might not the dreaded reconciliation take place and the whole object of French policy—the abasement of Britain—be lost?⁴¹ There is no doubt that Franklin allowed these thoughts to ferment in the minister's mind,⁴² nor is there any doubt that at this juncture Vergennes was glad to have good representations of an alarmist nature to make to the King of France.⁴³ A royal council was held on January 7 at which it was decided unanimously to negotiate, without the concurrence of Spain, an offensive and defensive alliance as well as a treaty of commerce and amity with the United States.⁴⁴ The next day a French plenipotentiary, Gerard, appeared before the Commissioners and put them a question which unlocks the significance of the whole episode. Both question and answer are preserved in the French archives in Franklin's own handwriting.

³⁹ Beaumarchais to Vergennes, Dec. 17, 1778, Archives des Affaires Étrangères, Angleterre, vol. 526, f. 270 (SF 1781).

⁴⁰ SF 1787.

⁴¹ Doniol, II. 104-106.

⁴² See Van Tyne, "Influences which determined the French Government to make the Treaty with America, 1778", in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXI. 539. He cites correspondence of the French ambassador in London.

⁴³ On this point the evidence adduced by Professor E. S. Corwin in *French Policy and the American Alliance* (see especially p. 128) is quite conclusive. See Vergennes to Montmorin, Dec. 27, 1777, in which Vergennes makes use of the letter to Bancroft as an argument for immediate action by Spain. Archives des Affaires Étrangères, Espagne, vol. 587, f. 307 (SF 1805). See also Doniol, II. 704-709, 771-773.

⁴⁴ Doniol, II. 707.

Question, What is necessary to be done to give such satisfaction to the American Commissioners as to engage them not to listen to any propositions from England for a new connection with that country?

Answer, The Commissioners have long since proposed a treaty of Amity and Commerce, which is not yet concluded: the immediate conclusion of that treaty will remove the uncertainty they are under with regard to it, and give them such a reliance on the friendship of France as to reject firmly all propositions made to them of peace from England, which have not for their basis the entire freedom and independence of America, both in matters of Government and commerce.

On the sixth of February the alliance was signed. The pledge of Franklin, repeated in different terms by Deane,⁴⁵ held good thereafter. The secret overtures of Eden's agents in Paris proved to be the preliminaries of the well-known peace commission to New York, authorized by the British Parliament in February of 1778, offering to the Americans the olive branch in one hand or the sword in the other, a peace without victory on the terms, roughly, of the *status quo* of 1763.⁴⁶ Eden, it should be recalled, was a member, indeed the mainspring, of this commission. Before the negotiations could gather any headway in America the terms of the French alliance arrived at Philadelphia. The hopes which the North ministry had indulged of dividing American patriots by such offers were doomed when it became known that the strongest military and naval power in Europe had clasped hands with the United States. That alliance meant in the end complete victory. The part played by the British spies of William Eden therefore was no small contribution to the achievement of American independence.

It remains to be stated that Bancroft continued true to his British employers. On January 22 he wrote Wentworth a letter outlining the terms of the prospective treaties. A careful summary of the treaties actually signed between the two parties followed on the fourth of March. The terms of the treaty of commerce and amity were known in England before they were straightway announced there by the French ambassador; the terms of the secret alliance, though not announced by the ambassador, were known there at the same time, long before they were known in America.⁴⁷ Bancroft claimed that

⁴⁵ Archives des Affaires Étrangères, États Unis, vol. III., nos. 4 and 8 (SF 774 and 776), for statements of Franklin and Deane, respectively. For Gerard's narrative see SF 1831, quoted by Corwin, p. 153.

⁴⁶ 18 George III., c. 13. The royal instructions to the Peace Commission sent to America are conveniently printed in S. E. Morison, *Sources and Documents illustrating the American Revolution*, pp. 186-203.

⁴⁷ Bancroft to Wentworth, Jan. 22-28, 1778, Auckland MSS. (SF 492). Wentworth, "Intelligence from Mr. Edwards", with abstract of the treaties of commerce and alliance signed Feb. 6, 1778, between France and America; dated Paris, Mar. 4, 1777, *ibid.* (SF 1881).

by a special messenger he achieved the unprecedented (and, we think, unbelievable) feat of getting the treaty to Whitehall within *forty-two hours* after it was signed at Versailles.⁴⁸

During the hostilities between England and France Bancroft remained at his post in Paris, receiving a salary of £500 per annum, which in 1780 was increased to £1000. After the fall of the North ministry the stipend was continued by Shelburne during the peace negotiations and at least one quarter's payment was made by Fox, the secretary who instructed David Hartley to negotiate "fairly and ingenuously with Franklin". Though both Shelburne and Fox availed themselves of Bancroft's services as unblushingly as did Lord North, there is no evidence in the Oswald or Hartley correspondence to show that these ingenuous personalities were aware that the same tool had been employed by their principals. Fitzherbert and Strachey, trained diplomatists of the Foreign Office school, made good use of him. Fitzherbert praised him as "a valuable treasure to government both as a source of intelligence of all sorts and as an instrument to be employed in guiding indirectly . . . the views and conduct of the American Commissioners". In June, 1783, Bancroft went to America on a trip of several months, during which he tried to make himself useful to Great Britain by propaganda and the supplying of information. We find him back in London in September, 1784, soliciting for the prompt payment of his stipend and a promised pension. His remarkable memoir of September 17, one of the most startling documents in early American diplomatic history, is elsewhere printed in these pages.⁴⁹

Hynson, disgusted with his adventures in Paris, left for England and took passage on the *Centaur* man-of-war on a voyage in which he was instrumental in betraying an American munition ship into the hands of the Admiralty. This is the last we hear of him, in what he wrote to be a new and happier life.⁵⁰ Wentworth's further doings, however interesting they may be, must await the future biographer

⁴⁸ The ordinary time for the journey by the king's couriers was five days. A quiet passage would be made in four. For Bancroft's statement see his Memorial to Carmarthen, Sept. 17, 1784, *infra*.

⁴⁹ *Infra*, pp. 492-495. See private and confidential letters of Fitzherbert to Shelburne, Dec. 14 and 18, 1782, Stevens Transcripts of Shelburne Papers in Lansdowne House; Edwards to Strachey, Dec. 4, 1782, P. R. O., C. O. 5:8, p. 376 (Stevens Transcripts). For Dr. Bancroft's perspicuous observations on political conditions in America in 1783-1784, see George Bancroft, *History of the Formation of the Constitution of the United States*, I. 331, 367, 380, 403.

⁵⁰ Hynson to Smith, Jan. 4, 1778, Auckland MSS. (SF 330); Donatien Le Ray de Chaumont, *Anecdote Intéressante*, Apr. 18, 1778, Archives des Affaires Étrangères, États Unis, vol. III., no. 92, f. 205 (SF 810). Hynson's voyage may have been intended to intercept Carmichael and Simeon Deane.

of him and Eden. The enigmatic Carmichael returned safely to Maryland. He served his state during the year 1779 in the Continental Congress. In the latter part of that year he accompanied John Jay to Spain, and served there as secretary to the unrecognized American legation until Jay's departure from Madrid in 1782. During these years he continued a friendly and intimate correspondent of Franklin, who recommended him as Jay's successor.⁵¹ It was Carmichael who in 1783 was recognized as the first official American representative to the Spanish court. He served until his recall in 1794 as a highly unsuccessful minister of the United States.⁵² He died in Madrid, February 9, 1795, on the eve of his intended departure for the United States.

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS.

EDWARD BANCROFT'S MEMORIAL TO THE MARQUIS OF CARMARTHEN.⁵³

My Lord

I had some days since, the honor of seeing, and Conversing with Mr. Pitt, concerning the Business mentioned in the enclosed Paper, to which he appeared very favourably disposed, and very obliging promised to take the first opportunity, after his return from the Country (where he was then going) to settle it with your Lordship; desiring in the meantime, that I would wait on and explain the matter to you. As I have not hitherto found the opportunity of a verbal Explanation, I beg that your Lordship will be pleased, to peruse the inclosed *very exact State of Facts*, and afterwards, have the goodness to Communicate it, to Mr. Pitt, and such others of the King's Ministers, as your Lordship may think proper; flattering my self, that it will effectually remove every difficulty that may exist in the Business relative to it.

I had also the honor of acquainting Mr. Pitt of something respecting Ireland, which he will doubtless mention, as I intended doing, to your Lordship and it being expedient for me to return to Paris in about ten

⁵¹ E. E. Hale, *Franklin in France*, I., for this correspondence.

⁵² Another British agent in Paris at this time was a miserable character by the name of George Lupton. He was an American by birth who enlisted in the service of Eden for such occasional money rewards as he could secure from that employer. Lupton succeeded in ingratiating himself with Carmichael and the sea-captains who served the Commissioners. He posed as an American willing to undertake small speculations in supplying the army with munitions and clothing. He wrote copious letters to Eden which contain nothing very new or additional to that supplied by Bancroft, Wentworth, and Hynson, but they were doubtless useful in checking the accuracy or trustworthiness of other informers. Lupton was not aware of the activities of the other agents. When Bancroft threatened to leave the American commission because his salary had not been paid, Lupton had hopes of getting a place as his successor, thus putting himself in a position in which (he wrote) he would be able to gather information of the most vital character. Lupton's debauches in Paris ruined him as a successful agent. His reports cease at the beginning of 1778. Reference to them may be had, under the name, in the index to the Stevens *Facsimiles*.

⁵³ P. R. O., F. O. 4: 3. Carmarthen was Foreign Secretary in 1784.

days I hope your Lordship will allow me the honor of a few minutes Conversation some time in the ensuing week. I have that of being with great Respect

My Lord

Your Lordships most Humble
and most devoted Servant
EDW'D BANCROFT

DUKE STREET

17th Sept 1784

Most Hon'ble Marquis of Carmarthen

In the month of June 1776, Mr. Silas Deane arrived in France, and pursuant to an instruction given him by the Secret Committee of Congress, wrote to me in London, requesting an interview in Paris, where I accordingly went, early in July, and was made acquainted with the purposes of his Mission, and with every thing which passed between him, and the French Ministry. After staying two or three weeks there, I returned to England, convinced, that the Government of France would endeavour to Promote an Absolute Separation, of the then United Colonies, from Great Britain; unless a speedy termination of the Revolt, by reconciliation, or Conquest, should frustrate this project. I had then resided near ten years, and expected to reside the rest of my Life, in England; and all my views, interests and inclinations were adverse to the independancy of the Colonies, though I had advocated some of their Claims, from a persuasion, of their being founded in Justice. I therefore wished, that the Government of this Country, might be informed, of the Danger of French interference, though I could not resolve to become the informant. But Mr. Paul Wentworth, having gained some general Knowledge of my Journey to France, and of my intercourse with Mr. Deane, and having induced me to believe, that the British Ministry were likewise informed on this Subject, I at length Consented to meet the then Secretaries of State, Lords Weymouth and Suffolk, and give them all the information in my power; which I did, with the most disinterested views; for I not only, did not ask, but expressly rejected, every Idea of, any reward. The Declaration of Independancy, was not then known in Europe, and I hoped, that Government, thus informed of the Danger, would prevent it, by some accomodation with the Colonies, or by other means. It had been my original intention to stop after this first Communication; but having given the first notice of a beginning intercourse, between France and the United Colonies, I was urged on, to watch and disclose the progress of it; for which purpose, I made several Journeys to Paris, and maintained a regular Correspondence with Mr. Deane, through the Couriers of the French Government. And in this way, I became *entangled* and obliged to proceed in a kind of Business, as repugnant to my feelings, as it had been to my original intentions. Being thus devoted to the Service of Government, I consented like others, to accept such Emoluments, as my situation indeed required. And in Feb'y 1777, Lord Suffolk, to whom by Ld Weymouths Consent, my Communications were then made, formally promised me, in the King's Name, a Pension for Life of £200 pr an. to Commence from the Christmas preceeding. This was for Services *then rendered*; and as an inducement for me to go over and reside in France, and continue my services there, until the Revolt should terminate, or an Open rupture with that nation ensue, his Lordship farther prom-

ised, that when either of these Events should happen, my permanent pension of £200 pr an. should be increased to £500 *at least*. Confiding in this promise, I went to Paris, and during the first year, resided in the same House with Dr. Franklin, Mr. Deane etc., and regularly informed this Government of every transaction of the American Commissioners; of every Step and Vessel taken to supply the revolted Colonies, with Artillery, Arms etc.; of every part of their intercourse with the French and other European Courts; of the Powers and instructions given by Congress to the Commissioners, and of their correspondence with the Secret Committees etc. and when the Government of France at length determined *openly* to support the Revolted Colonies, I gave notice of this determination, and of the progress made in forming the two Treaties of Alliance and Commerce, and when these were signed, on the Evening of the 6th of Feb'y, I at my own Expence, by a special Messenger, and with unexampled dispatch, conveyed this intelligence to this City, and to the King's Ministers, within 42 hours, from the instant of their Signature, a piece of information, for which many individuals here, would, for purposes of Speculation, have given me more than all that I have received from Government. Afterwards, when that decisive measure, of sending Count D'Estaing with the fleet from Toulon, to Commence Hostilities at the Delaware and New York, was adopted, I sent intelligence of the direct object and Plan of the Expedition. I had originally explained to Lord Suffolk my Determination to quit this business, whenever an Open War with France, should destroy, what had been my principal inducement to meddle with it; I mean, the hope of preventing a Separation of the revolted Colonies: And as this war now appeared unavoidable, I requested that the King's Ministers would, as soon as practicable, provide other Sources of information, and permit me to withdraw myself. This request however was never granted. But to fulfill the promise made by my Lord Suffolk my permanent Pension was increased to 500 £ per an. and regularly entered, in Book Letter A. payable to Mr. P. Wentworth for the use of Edwd. Edwards; the name, by which, for greater Secrecy, it had been long before agreed to distinguish me. In June 1780, the King's Ministers, reflecting that this Pension had been given as the reward of *Antecedent* Services, and that it would be unreasonable, to require a longer Continuance of them, without a farther recompense, agreed to allow me an additional yearly sum of £500, *so long as I should reside in France*; and they encouraged me to expect that this last Sum, or at least a Considerable part of it, would be ultimately added to my permanent pension, in case Government should be satisfied with my future services. I accordingly received from his Majesties Treasury the Stipulated annual allowance of £1000, until the month of April 1782; when the Change of Ministers, with Mr. Burkes Bill, created some difficulty on this Subject. But the matter being Explained to my Lord Shelburne, he took care, before his resignation, to secure and pay me through the then Secretary of State, for foreign Affairs, (my Lord Grantham), a full years Sallary, though the last quarter was not then due. In June 1783, I came to London, and informed Lord North (to whom my latter information had by particular direction been addressed) of my intention of going to America, where I offered my Services, in promoting measures and dispositions, favourable to the interests of this Country, as well as in giving information of the State of things there, and of the views and proceedings of Congress etc. I likewise reminded him, of the En-

couragement which I had received to expect that the second 500 £ pr. an. or at least a part of it would be made permanent like the first, adding, that if my services in America, were accepted, it would as I presumed, in any case, be thought reasonable, to Continue to me, at least while there, the same allowance as had been made me in France. With this Proposition, his Lordship appeared to be satisfied, but at a subsequent interview, he referred me to Mr. Fox for a decision respecting it, as well as for the payment of a quarter Sallary, then due, alledging, that Mr. Burke's Bill, had made it absolutely necessary, to provide for me, through that Department. I accordingly saw and conversed with Mr. Fox respecting my situation and propositions, which he promised to consider of; but as I had not foreseen any difficulty, or delay, and had already agreed, and Paid for, my Passage to Philadelphia, I was obliged to follow the Ship to the Downs, on the 12th of August 1783, before any decision was made, and indeed, whilst Mr. Fox was out of Town. I however informed him, by Letter, on the evening of my departure, that he might expect the Continuation of my Services to Government whilst in America, and requested that the quarters Salary, then due, might be paid to Mrs. Bancroft. She accordingly soon after received £250 for that Quarter; since which nothing has been paid for my account. On my part, I have endeavoured, as far as practicable, whilst absent, in America, to render myself useful to the British nation and Government. Great Events indeed did not occur for Communication, and the ill temper produced in America by the Proclamation, respecting the intercourse from thence to the West Indies, did not allow me to do all I had hoped, in promoting sentiments and dispositions favourable to this Country; though I endeavoured it, and I think with some little Success, in particular Channels and Connections; and I have endeavoured, occasionally, to vindicate the late measures of this Government, in Newspapers, particularly under the Signature of Cincinnatus, against the Publications of Common Sense.

One years Salary was due to me at midsummer last, which I request the payment of: what it shall be, must depend on the Kings pleasure, and that of his Ministers: I make no Claim beyond the permanent pension of £500 pr an. for which the Faith of Government has been often pledged; and for which, I have sacrificed near eight years of my Life, and my pursuits in it; always avoiding any Kind of appointment, or emolument from, as well as any sort of Engagement to, any Government in the United States; in the full determination, of remaining to the end of my Life, a faithful Subject to my natural, and most Gracious Sovereign.

In Dr. Bancroft's Sept. 17, 1784.

ST. JAMES'S 16th Sept'r 1784.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

THE VICE-PRESIDENT AND THE CABINET

DURING the first years of the government under the Constitution, before executive practice had become fixed, President Washington was inclined to regard Vice-President Adams as one of his official advisers, and he several times consulted him upon important public matters.¹ It was natural therefore that Washington in the spring of 1791, when planning to be absent from the seat of government for several months during a tour of the Southern states, should have named the Vice-President as an official the "Cabinet" should consult in case of an emergency. His precise words on the subject, found in a circular letter that he wrote from Mount Vernon on April 4, 1791, and sent to the Secretaries of State, Treasury, and War, are as follows: "Presuming that the Vice-President will have left the seat of government for Boston, I have not requested his opinion to be taken on the supposed emergency; should it be otherwise, I wish *him* also to be consulted."²

On April 10 Jefferson wrote to Washington that he had sent a copy of the circular letter to the Vice-President; and, "as Colo. Hamilton has asked a consultation on a letter of Mr. Short, we shall have a meeting with the Vice-President tomorrow. I will then ask their advice also on the communication to Colo. Beckwith relative to the supplies to the Indians".³ William Short, who was the U. S. chargé d'affaires in France, wished the government's approval of the opening of a second loan at Amsterdam. Colonel George Beckwith was the confidential agent of Great Britain.

On the eleventh a "Cabinet meeting" (as it would now be called) was held, at which were present Thomas Jefferson, secretary of state, Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the treasury, Henry Knox, secretary of war, and John Adams, vice-president. The matter respecting the second loan was approved "unanimously". A mission to the Six Nations proposed by General Knox and a communication to Beckwith suggested by Jefferson were also approved.⁴ Many years later, under date of February 4, 1818, Jefferson described this meeting as follows.

¹ *Works of John Adams*, VIII. 489, 496, 515.

² *Writings of George Washington*, ed. W. C. Ford, XII. 35.

³ Jefferson to Washington, Apr. 10, 1791, *Thomas Jefferson Papers*, vol. 63, in Library of Congress.

⁴ *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. P. L. Ford, V. 320-322.

Some occasion for consultation arising, I invited those gentlemen [the Secretaries of State, Treasury, and War] . . . to dine with me, in order to confer on the subject. After the cloth was removed, and our question agreed and dismissed, conversation began on other matters, and by some circumstance, was led to the British constitution, on which Mr. Adams observed, "purge that constitution of its corruption, and give to its popular branch equality of representation, and it would be the most perfect constitution ever devised by the wit of man". Hamilton paused and said, "purge it of its corruption, and give to its popular branch equality of representation, and it would become an *impracticable* government: as it stands at present, with all its supposed defects, it is the most perfect government which ever existed".⁵

It may be noted that the meeting was called by the Secretary of State, and that he took the lead in it, and not the Vice-President. As far as is known, this is the only Cabinet meeting attended by Vice-President Adams. In 1818 Jefferson remembered no other.⁶

As Adams and Jefferson were of opposing politics, Adams did not during his administration invite the Vice-President to attend Cabinet meetings. He is said, however, to have spoken before his inauguration with satisfaction of the prospect of administering the government in concurrence with the Vice-President. "If by that he meant the executive cabinet," Jefferson wrote on January 22, 1797, "both duty and inclination will shut that door to me."⁷ A few months later when Jefferson had become Vice-President, he again expressed himself on the same subject: "I consider my office as constitutionally confined to legislative functions, and that I could not take any part whatever in executive consultations, even were it proposed."⁸ Holding so strongly to this view of the duties of a Vice-President, Jefferson, during the eight years that he was President, extended no invitations to his vice-presidents to sit in his Cabinet. By the end of his administration the practice of confining the Vice-President to his legislative duties was firmly established, and with a few exceptions has been strictly followed since that date.

All the facts of the first exception, if it is an exception, are not known. John Bigelow in his diary for September 23, 1868, gives an account of a conversation in Washington with W. H. Seward, in

⁵ *Complete Anas of Thomas Jefferson* (New York, 1903), pp. 36-37. The words omitted near the beginning of the quotation are, "and the Attorney General, as well as I remember". Jefferson's contemporary account does not mention the Attorney General.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 36. For an account of this meeting and subsequent practice, see H. B. Learned, *The President's Cabinet*, pp. 123-125, 384-385, where will be found the essential facts, with references to sources. In writing this note I have had the benefit of suggestions made by Dr. Learned and Professor George H. Haynes.

⁷ *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, Library ed., IX. 367-368.

⁸ *Writings*, ed. Ford, VII. 120.

which Seward said: "Vice-Presidents are at first like lovers."⁹ General Taylor insisted upon having Fillmore attend the Cabinet meetings, till he found out, as he did in a few months, that he was a traitor."¹⁰ On March 10, 1849, five days after the inauguration of Taylor and Fillmore, Seward wrote from Washington to Thurlow Weed: "The idea of the V[ice] P[resident] being a member of the Cabinet has expired noiselessly."¹¹ Weed's account, which appears in his *Autobiography*, published in 1883, is as follows:

General Taylor after his election, conscious of his own want of experience in civil affairs, supposed, until otherwise advised by Hon. John J. Crittenden, that the Vice-President could be *ex-officio* a member of his cabinet. Expressing in a letter to Mr. Fillmore his regret that he could not have the benefit of his presence and advice in the cabinet, he added that he should rely upon his experience and ask his advice upon all important questions.¹²

From these quotations it appears that Taylor expected Fillmore to sit in his Cabinet until informed that this could not be, that probably Fillmore never sat in it,¹³ and that he advised Taylor on executive matters. It is well known that Taylor consulted Fillmore respecting several important New York appointments and followed his recommendations in preference to those of Seward.¹⁴

An exigency arose under President Wilson in December, 1918, when he was about to leave Washington for the peace conference at Paris, similar to that under President Washington in the spring of 1791. In each case it was caused by the contemplated absence of the President from the seat of government for a considerable time. In the case of President Wilson the Secretary of State also was to be absent. President Wilson met the exigency by inviting Vice-Presi-

⁹ Seward's view was that a new President and Vice-President were at first very friendly, but their affection soon cooled.

¹⁰ John Bigelow, *Retrospections of an Active Life*, IV. 214.

¹¹ F. W. Seward, *Seward at Washington*, II. 107.

¹² *Autobiography*, pp. 586-587. At the time of the inauguration of Taylor, Crittenden was at Frankfort, Ky. C. N. Feamster, *Calendar of the Papers of John Jordan Crittenden*, pp. 147-149.

¹³ If a Cabinet meeting was held between Mar. 5 and Mar. 10, 1849, Fillmore may have attended it.

¹⁴ F. W. Seward, *Seward at Washington*, II. 107; *Autobiography of Thurlow Weed*, p. 587; T. W. Barnes, *Memoir of Thurlow Weed*, p. 175.

President Polk consulted Vice-President Dallas; and President McKinley, Vice-President Hobart. By special invitation Hobart may have attended one or more meetings of McKinley's Cabinet. In the midsummer of 1908 Mr. W. J. Bryan proposed to admit to his Cabinet Mr. John W. Kern, then a candidate for Vice-President on the Democratic ticket, if that ticket should be successful in November. There was considerable discussion of his proposal in the newspapers. H. B. Learned, *The President's Cabinet*, pp. 385-389.

dent Marshall to preside over the Cabinet—an invitation which was concurred in by the Cabinet. The President left Washington for Paris on December 4, and six days later, when the first Cabinet meeting after his departure was held, Vice-President Marshall attended and read the following statement:

In assuming the Chair and presiding over what is known as a meeting of the cabinet, I deem it proper to make a brief statement so that my conduct may not be misunderstood nor misinterpreted. I am here and am acting in obedience to a request preferred by the President upon the eve of his departure and also at your request. But I am here informally and personally. I am not undertaking to exercise any official duty or function. I shall preside in an unofficial and informal way over your meetings out of deference to your desires and those of the President.¹⁵

On February 25, 1919, President Wilson returned to Washington and on the same day held a Cabinet meeting, to which Vice-President Marshall was invited “as a special mark of courtesy for his presiding over the meetings during President Wilson’s absence”.¹⁶ Marshall’s term of service covered the period December 10, 1918–February 25, 1919.¹⁷ He was the first Vice-President to preside at a Cabinet meeting. In response to a letter from Professor George H. Haynes asking for information respecting his service, Mr. Marshall replied under date of December 3, 1923, as follows: “At the request of President Wilson I presided over the Cabinet meetings during his first visit to Paris, and was present, at his invitation, when he returned at the close of Congress in 1919, revealing to his Cabinet his labors, and expressing his purposes, his difficulties, and his hopes.”¹⁸

The last Vice-President to sit in the Cabinet was Vice-President Coolidge. During the presidential campaign of 1920 Senator Harding, on July 10, expressed his intentions as follows:

The sort of government I have in mind ought to take advantage of the capacity and experience of a man like Governor Coolidge by bringing him into the councils. It would be a fine thing, and I don’t see why it hasn’t been done long ago. Governor Coolidge is an eminent American and has had experience as an executive and should be helpful. I think the Vice-

¹⁵ *New York Times*, Dec. 11, 1918, p. 14. The statement sometimes found in print that Vice-President Sherman made a practice of sitting with President Taft’s Cabinet is entirely without foundation. In response to a direct inquiry on that point, letters to Professor George H. Haynes from Ex-President Taft, from a member of his Cabinet, and from a son of Mr. Sherman, all indicate that, if Mr. Sherman entered the Cabinet room during a session, it was merely by casual invitation extended when he was calling upon the President at the White House on other business.

¹⁶ *New York Times*, Feb. 26, 1919, pp. 1, 2.

¹⁷ One of the meetings over which Marshall presided was held on Dec. 31, 1918. *New York Times*, Jan. 1, 1919, p. 13.

¹⁸ Letter in the possession of George H. Haynes.

President can be a most effective agency in keeping the executive officers in touch with the legislative branch of the Government.¹⁹

On December 16, President-elect Harding fulfilled his campaign pledge by asking Mr. Coolidge, who was then visiting him at Marion, to serve as an *ex-officio* member of his Cabinet, and Mr. Coolidge consented to serve. Vice-President Coolidge attended President Harding's first Cabinet meeting held on March 8, 1921, and he continued to sit in the Cabinet until June 15, 1923, when President Harding held his last Cabinet meeting.²⁰ He sat at the foot of the Cabinet table.²¹ To what extent he participated in discussions is not known. No evidence has been found that he ever presided over a meeting. He was the first Vice-President to serve regularly as a member of the Cabinet.

CHARLES O. PAULLIN.

¹⁹ *New York Times*, Dec. 17, 1920, p. 1.

²⁰ Vice-President Marshall is reported to have said that it was a mistake for Mr. Coolidge to sit in the Cabinet. *Springfield Daily Republican*, Mar. 10, 1921, p. 8.

²¹ *Review of Reviews*, vol. LXIII. (Apr., 1921), p. 381.

DOCUMENTS

1. *Letter of Thomas Paine, 1793.*

AMONG the earliest groups of papers to be published from the Draper Manuscripts was that dealing with the activities of General George Rogers Clark and his compatriots of Western fame concerning a filibustering expedition to recover Louisiana for France. In the American Historical Association's *Report* for 1896 these documents, supplemented by others obtained from the French archives, were published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission of the Association, and in a succeeding number of the *American Historical Review*, III. 490-516, appeared Professor Frederick J. Turner's analysis of these documents under the title "The Origin of Genet's Projected Attack upon Louisiana and the Floridas". One document in the chain of evidence was lacking, which Professor Turner inferred from certain statements of Draper must have existed among his papers—a letter of Thomas Paine written from Passy, near Paris, February 17, 1793. This letter of Paine, misplaced chronologically, has now been found, and is herein published in order to complete the evidence on which Professor Turner's article was based, and also because in itself Paine's letter is intrinsically interesting.

Paine's letter proves conclusively that Clark approached the French authorities as early as the latter months of 1792, and that his proposals for revolutionizing Louisiana reached Paris and received favorable consideration, as Professor Turner in 1898 surmised, before the departure of Genet. It also shows that Jefferson had already been sounded concerning Clark's suitability as commander for the proposed expedition; and that the latter's newly acquired relationship to Dr. James O'Fallon was a point in his favor.

Not much has been known about the interesting Irish adventurer who was Paine's friend and Clark's brother-in-law at the time this letter was written. His son, John O'Fallon, the well-known St. Louis philanthropist, gave Draper a sketch of his father's life, which he had acquired partly from documents, partly from conversation with relatives—since the boy was but two years of age when his father died. James O'Fallon was born in 1749 in Roscommon, Connaught, where his family had lived for generations and claimed descent from Irish kings antedating the Christian era.¹ He received a liberal edu-

¹ See pedigree in Dr. O'Fallon's handwriting, Draper MSS. 4CC171.

cation, was a fine linguist, and was sent to Rome with the expectation that he would enter the Church. He, however, preferred to become a physician, and went to Edinburgh University for medical training. One of his Scottish professors urged him to visit British America, where the struggle for liberty was just beginning. He embarked, thereupon, at the age of twenty-five for the New World; and was cast away in a wreck on the coast of North Carolina, where he soon found friends among the colonial leaders. He is said to have fought a duel with a British sympathizer, and to have been so zealous in the cause of the colonies that he was for a time in prison.² He became both a pamphleteer and a soldier, being elected leader of a volunteer cavalry troop in his adopted state. He also served for a time in Georgia, whence he was sent to Philadelphia, where his medical training secured him a place as surgeon in the military hospitals. He had charge for a time of one in Connecticut, and in 1779 was stationed at Fishkill, New York.³

At the close of the Revolution he took up his residence at Charleston, where he became intimate with the families of men who had seen service in the Revolution. Land speculation appealed to a character such as his, and he himself claimed to have been the promoter of the famous (or infamous) South Carolina Yazoo Company, into which he drew the Moultries, Thomas Washington, Colonel Isaac Huger, and other well-known Carolinian Whigs.⁴ Having obtained from Georgia their grant of over fifty thousand acres on the Mississippi River below the Yazoo, and formed a company of twenty members, of which O'Fallon was made agent, he set out from Charleston to sell his lands and to induce settlers to colonize the region. The Spaniards of Louisiana claimed the region and O'Fallon entered into very questionable intrigues to obtain the consent of Spain for his projected settlement. Not only did he concert plans with James Wilkinson, the secret agent of Spain, for this purpose, but he sent a treasonable letter to Governor Estevan Miró at New Orleans, repudiating allegiance to the federal government, denouncing Washington, and suggesting that his colonists would "consent to be the slaves of Spain" for substantial privileges in land cessions.⁵

Such was the man who, after passing through the back parts of the older colonies and after attempting to obtain the co-operation of

² Draper MSS. 34J20; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, XII. 419-420, 422.

³ *Ibid.*, XIV. 49-50; Draper MSS. 34J22.

⁴ Charles H. Haskins, "The Yazoo Companies", in *Papers of the American Historical Association*, V. 395-437.

⁵ Charles Gayarré, *History of Louisiana: Spanish Domination* (New York, 1853), III. 272-293.

Sevier⁶ and Blount in Tennessee, arrived in Kentucky in the spring of 1790. Of winning address and pleasing manners, well introduced by Revolutionary veterans, he made his way easily into the first circles of Kentucky society and by February, 1791, had secured the hand of Frances Clark, youngest sister of the General. O'Fallon was more than twice his wife's age, and as we have seen had had many-fold more experiences. In 1791 his Yazoo plans began to totter; even Wilkinson reported him to Governor Miró as "a man of light character, although he is not lacking in education and intelligence, because, at his time of life, being forty-five [forty-three] years old, and with many gray hairs, he allows his flightiness and puerile vanity to peep out".⁷

Unable to come to terms with Spain, O'Fallon next planned to overthrow its power, and herein were two instruments to his hand—the revolutionary zeal of the new French government, and the restless dissatisfaction of his eminent brother-in-law, chafing like most Westerners against the arbitrary action of the Spaniards at New Orleans. The rest of the story is well known—Clark's offer of his services to the French republic, O'Fallon's interest with Thomas Paine and the group that surrounded him in Paris,⁸ the appointment of Genet and his course in America.

By the time Paine's letter was received at Louisville, O'Fallon's relations with the Clark family were seriously strained. His wife had left him and returned with her children to her father's home, where she refused even to see her husband. Clark and O'Fallon had an altercation in a public house, and the entire Clark family repudiated all connection with the Irish adventurer they had earlier welcomed.⁹ The time and manner of his death are not known. His son told Draper that he died in June, 1793.¹⁰ Letters in his own handwriting, however, exist dated in November of that year; but no doubt he died soon thereafter, whether by disease or by his own hand does not appear. It is certain that by the time Paine's letter arrived at Louisville, O'Fallon and the Clark family were no longer on good terms. For this reason and because they were not in daily communi-

⁶ Letter of O'Fallon to John Sevier, Draper MSS. 5XX23.

⁷ Gayarré, *Spanish Domination*, p. 293.

⁸ Gilbert Imlay was interested in this plan, but while he may have known O'Fallon in the army, he had doubtless left Kentucky before O'Fallon's advent there. Ralph L. Rusk, "Adventures of Gilbert Imlay", in *Indiana University Studies*, no. 57 (March, 1923).

⁹ Draper MSS. 2M45-47.

¹⁰ Draper MSS. 34J24.

cation, O'Fallon sent a copy of the letter to Clark when it arrived, with the following note (unsigned):¹¹

Dr. Genl. I have, yesterday, received a Letter from Mr Thomas Paine, member of the national convention of France, in reply to mine, which accompanied your Pacquet to the then French Resident.¹² Much of it concerns you. I send you, beneath, a literal copy of the whole. When you chuse it, you may peruse the Letter itself. I remain Dr. Genl.
yr. very humble serv't

The letter from Paine is doubtless an original. Draper says that he obtained it from among Dr. O'Fallon's old papers; and that the copy sent to Clark was not with his papers. In all probability Clark never saw the original letter, which is as follows.¹³

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG.

PASSY, near Paris,
February the 17, 1793.

Dr. Sir

I had the pleasure of yr. favr. from Kentucky, wh. came in the french Resident's dispatches, with which the offers and propositions of Genl. G. R. Clarke, for an expedition against Louisiana, etc. had arrived, and were recd. by the Provisionary executive Council of the Republic with satisfaction.

I should have replied sooner; but waited a few days, that I may see what the Resident had reported, and after using my best exertions in behalf of your friend's design, to discover what was likely to be done, in the event of a Spanish war. I have only to inform you, at this early stage of the business, that the General's offers and propositions are actually under consideration; and a doubt exists not with myself, sho'd a Spanish war take place, but that every, or the greater part of his terms will be complied with. In my private opinion, a Spanish war is inevitable. You may, therefore, in all human probability, expect very soon to hear of the General's nomination to the post and command solicited by him. The knowledge which report hath brought me of his character, Mr. Jefferson's private sentiments respecting him, which the Resident has, as I understand, transmitted, and the reliance I have in yr. narrative, which confirms the whole, will excite every exertion on my part, to have the expedition promoted as you wish. In a week or two hence, a war against Spain will, in all likelihood, be declared. All we fear is, that the intrigues of certain personages in the American cabinet, who are the friends of Britain, and the votaries of Kings, may obstruct the General, in his plans of raising men, and procuring officers. The principal characters among the french inhabitants of Louisiana, have already petitioned this convention, for the reduction of that country from the vile servitude under which it actually groans.

This expedition, if successful, will probably promote every end of yr. Agency, the purposes of which Gouverneur Morris of New York, the

¹¹ Draper MSS. 12J59.

¹² The French resident at Philadelphia in 1792 was Col. J. B. Ternant, appointed by the king in the spring of 1791.

¹³ Draper MSS. 12J60.

present American Minister at Paris, has, long since, unfolded to me. I therefore submit it to yr. consideration, whether you ought not, in person, to accompany this expedition, to promote it with all yr. might, and even to act in it as a french officer. Such friendly exertions in favr. of the enterprize, will most certainly recommend you, and the Company you represent to the notice and grateful esteem of our magnanimous free nation. In the hoped for contingency, that the arms of the Republic shall prove victorious in this expedition, and dislodge the Spaniard from all the posts which he holds within the three Grants of Georgia; the lands, in the first instance, will be considered, by the Republic, as the conquest of a Spanish territory. In such case, I make not the least doubt, but that the Georgia Grants, the lowest down at least, will be confirmed to the companies that shall have been assistants in the expedition, by themselves or their Agents. This, My dear Sir, I only offer, as the sentiments of a private man. Sho'd the Georgia Grant, or Grants ever revert to the United States; it must be by treaty, or exchange; and then even, the actual possessors, under this Republic, will infallibly become confirmed in their rights, under some clause in the deed of cession.

Yr. instructive correspondence shall ever be pleasing to me. Give me every intelligence, and write often. Please to direct under cover of the Ambassador, Mr. Genets address. He is my sincere friend, and yr. name is already made known to him by me. He is to set out for America speedily. The rulers of this Republic hold him in very high estimation.

If as yet in the habits of writing; this, My Dear Doctor, is yr. precious time. Never was there a cause so deserving of yr. pen. I have tried the force of mine, and with some success. The first characters in Europe are in arms; some with the bayonet, some with the pen, and some with the two-edged Sword of Declamation, in favour of Liberty. The tyrants of the earth are leagued against France; but with little effect. Altho' single-handed and alone, she still stands unshaken, unsubdued, unsubdueable, and undaunted: for our brave men fight not, as the troops of other nations, like Slaves chained to the oar of compulsory power. They fight freely, and for conscience sake. The nation will perish to a man, or be free. France can never fall; but by misapplying her own strength.

This being Sunday, and at my little retreat, a few miles from Paris, where I expect some American friends to dinner; I must defer what more I had to say. This letter is risqued by a private hand, who proceeds immediately to New York, and is charged to have it conveyed to you with all the security possible. Fail not to write to me, and believe me to be, with unfeigned sincerity, and best wishes for yr. health and prosperity

Dear Sir

Your true friend and wellwisher

THOMS. PAINE

Doctor James o'Fallon

[*Addressed:*] Doctor James O Fallon Physician near Louisville in Kentucky United States of America

[*Endorsed:*] Recd. from Citizen Ireville and forwarded by Yr. friend F. Gilcrist Pittsburg.

Forwardd. by John Mahoney Cincinnati.

2. *William Lattimore to his Constituents, 1805.*

THE following piece, bought at an auction a few years ago, is one of the few surviving specimens of a variety of document which in the earlier years of Congress seems to have had a considerable vogue. Such is the natural inference from the following passage in a letter of John Adams to Jefferson, June 30, 1813: "But above all, shall I request you to collect the circular letters from members of Congress in the middle and southern States to their constituents? I would give all I am worth for a complete collection of those letters." (*Works*, X. 48.) Since the circular letters were printed, copies of them must have at one time been numerous, but the present editor, for one, has to confess that he never saw one until he came upon a group of them written by Robert Goodloe Harper to his constituents, in the papers of the first James A. Bayard. These were printed by Miss Elizabeth Donnan in her collection of the *Papers of James A. Bayard*, in volume II. of the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1913.

The addition now made to such material is printed on two pages of a sheet measuring 10 inches by 8, and was folded, addressed, and sealed in the form usual with letters in the time when it was printed. It bears the frank of William Lattimore and is addressed "The Hon'ble Thomas Rodney, Town of Washington, M. T.", *i.e.*, Mississippi Territory. Washington had been made the territorial capital by territorial act of February 1, 1802.¹

William Lattimore (1774-1843) was territorial delegate from Mississippi in the Eighth and Ninth Congresses, 1803-1807. Governor W. C. C. Claiborne announces his election thus to Secretary Madison in a letter of March 15, 1803:² "On the 12th Instant, the two Houses of Assembly elected Doctor William Lattimore of Natchez a Delegate from the Territory to Congress for two years. Doctor Lattimore is a young man of promising Talents, and a *firm* and *Genuine republican*." He was delegate again in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Congresses, 1813-1817.

Thomas Rodney (1744-1811), to whom our copy of the circular was addressed, was born in Delaware, a younger brother of Caesar Rodney, had been like him a delegate to the Continental Congress

¹ "A little Town called Washington, about six miles from Natchez, is fixed upon by Law, as the place where the future Sessions of the Legislature shall be holden. Washington is handsomely situated, well supplied with excellent Spring water, and said to be the healthiest Spot in the District." Governor W. C. C. Claiborne to Secretary Madison, May 14, 1802, *Mississippi Territorial Archives*, I. 438.

² *Ibid.*, I. 600.

from that state, and was now, 1803-1811, a United States judge for the Mississippi Territory. He presided at the trial in Mississippi of Aaron Burr. In a letter of December 8, 1803, to his son Caesar A. Rodney (1772-1824), then in Congress, afterward (1807-1811) attorney general of the United States, he asks him to inform Dr. Lattimore "that I shall at all times receive with Pleasure any Communications he may think proper to make while I remain in the Territory".³ Many of his letters, chiefly to his son, written from Mississippi, have been printed by Mr. Simon Gratz in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, volumes XLIII.-XLV.

WASHINGTON, March 1st, 1805.

Dear Sir,

Two days more will close the term of public service for which I was elected. Before it expires, I wish to give you some information relative to the common interests of our territory; which an indispensable attention to business, and an almost continual ill state of health, prevented me from doing during the last and present session of Congress.

Of the laws passed at the last session, which particularly concern us, the "supplementary act" respecting lands,⁴ is probably the most important. The various provisions of this act, it is presumed, are well known, and some of them, ere this, carried into operation. To the greater part of these, I gave my approbation and support; and I am happy to believe, from subsequent reflection and information, that they were proper, and will prove interesting to our citizens. Others, suggested by several respectable correspondents as desirable and necessary, were unsuccessfully attempted.

The subject of the lands, has been before Congress again this session, and a bill further to amend the act relative thereto, was, some considerable time since, passed by the House of Representatives, and yesterday agreed to by the Senate.⁵ Some copies of this bill, in its original form, were sent to the territory. I presume, therefore, that it has been published, and that you are already acquainted with its provisions. It underwent two amendments, one of which, made to the fifth section, may be considered as generally interesting.

The twelfth section of the supplementary act of last session, was added by the Senate, to the bill sent from the House of Representatives,

³ *Pa. Mag. Hist.*, XLIII. 211.

⁴ Act approved Mar. 27, 1804, ch. 61, "An act supplementary to the act intituled 'An act regulating the grants of land, and providing for the disposal of the lands of the United States, south of the state of Tennessee'", i.e., supplementary to the act of Mar. 3, 1803, ch. 27.

⁵ Act approved Mar. 2, 1805, ch. 24, "An act further to amend an act intituled 'An act regulating'", etc., of Mar. 3, 1803; see especially sect. 5. A committee on the subject, consisting of Lattimore and two other members, was appointed by the House on Dec. 17, 1804. It reported a bill Dec. 31, which was amended in committee of the whole Jan. 14, and passed by the House Jan. 15, and by the Senate Feb. 28. *Journals*.

just about the close of the session.⁶ I believe it was not then seen, that this section would give a great advantage to British grants, over grants which might be derived from the United States; and that the United States would run a risk of selling lands, which might afterwards be claimed by virtue of such British grants, however remote the period at which they might be brought forward. To lessen this undue advantage, and to prevent this risk, it was judged just and expedient, this session, again to fix a time (the first day of December next) within which all such British grants should be exhibited, or never after be admitted as evidence in any court of the United States, against any grant derived from the United States, agreeably to a provision of the original act relative to this subject. Conceiving that complete Spanish titles, which had not been embraced by this provision, were entitled, in justice, to all the protection that might be given to any other species of title, and that there ought, at least, to be a time, when resident claimants might rest secure from the future admission of unknown conflicting claims, I moved and obtained the amendment to the fifth section, already mentioned.

No doubt seems to exist in Congress, but that the land between the front street of the town of Natchez, and the bluff of the river, was reserved for the common use of the inhabitants of that town; and as far as I have ascertained, it is a very prevalent opinion, that this reservation, agreeable to its original intention, is still necessary for their health and convenience. But from various unavoidable causes, the business has been necessarily retarded, and will not be decided this session.

I know not what may hereafter be the course of proceeding in relation to this subject; much less can I ascertain its ultimate issue. If however, the land should be continued to the town, I believe that Congress would, in lieu of it, make another liberal donation to the college.⁷ But should it not be thus continued, I apprehend that the consequences to the town, will be serious and grievous: And I have always entertained the opinion, that the interests of the town and country, are reciprocal, and that, of course, the prosperity of the one, is connected with that of the other.

From these considerations, and from a view to justice, by which I trust I shall ever be influenced, as a primary motive, I have uniformly given my support to the claim of the town; at the same time that I have not ceased, to exercise my solicitude for the interest of the college.

⁶ Act of Mar. 27, 1804, ch. 61, sect. 12. House bill laid before Senate Mar. 23, referred, reported with amendments Mar. 26, passed Mar. 27. See letters of Thomas Rodney to Caesar A. Rodney, Dec. 8, 23, 1803, Jan. 21, Dec. 31, 1804, in *Pa. Mag. Hist.*, XLIII. 214, 218-220, 225, XLIV. 183-185.

⁷ The act of Mar. 3, 1803, ch. 27, sect. 12, had granted thirty-six sections within the territory "to be located in one body by the Secretary of the Treasury for the use of Jefferson College", together with one or two town lots in Natchez and an outlot adjoining of not more than thirty acres. A memorial from the assembly regarding these lands had been laid before the House Nov. 8, 1804, and reported upon by Dr. Lattimore Feb. 7. The town of Natchez disputed their possession, and the question was not settled till 1826. The college had been founded by the territorial assembly in May, 1802. Its checkered career can be traced in Edward Mayes, *History of Education in Mississippi* (Washington, Bureau of Education, 1899), pp. 25-36.

A bill giving the same (federal) jurisdiction and powers to the superior courts of the several territories, which are by law given to the district court of Kentucky district, and authorising appeals from decisions therein, to the supreme court of the United States, has been some time since, passed by the Senate, and sent to the House of Representatives. Apprehending that this bill, if passed into a law in its present form, would, to say the least, be productive of great inconvenience to the citizens of our territory, I have been uncommonly solicitous, either to amend it in such a manner as to prevent an appeal, or to prevent its passage for the present session. Of the two, I would prefer the latter, as it would give our citizens an opportunity of examining its merits, and of giving special instructions to my successor, relative to the subject. It is yet before a committee of the whole house, and I now entertain the hope, that it will not be further acted upon this session.⁸

Much inconvenience has arisen from the failure of the mails from the territory, there not having been more than about five or six arrivals during the present session. The memorial from the Legislature of the territory, which embraces a variety of interesting objects,⁹ was not received until late in the month of January. Owing to this and the trial of judge Chase, the whole of this business has of necessity to lie over, to the next session of Congress.

The House of Representatives have passed a bill, establishing a post rout, from Natches to Natchitoches; and another from this city, through Georgia and the Tombigby settlement, to New Orleans.¹⁰ They have likewise agreed to the bill, passed by the Senate, for establishing the second grade of government, in the territory of Orleans.¹¹ The same has been extended to the Indiana Territory.¹² Nothing is yet finally done, with respect to the government of Upper Louisiana.¹³

I hope the time is not far distant, when all these territories, with our own, will outgrow their present state of political minority, and be received, as sister states, in the great American Union. But however ardently we may wish for such an event, we shall be induced patiently to wait its arrival, from the persuasion, that, in the mean time, we shall continue to experience, the fostering and protecting hand of the parent government. From all that two long sessions have enabled me to discover, I have no hesitation to announce these as my sentiments.

The long expected rupture between England and Spain, has at length become a matter of certainty, by a declaration of war on the part of the latter, against the former.¹⁴ Whether this event is connected with others of a similar nature, time must ere long develope. But such are the jealousies and apprehensions which seem to be mutually entertained,

⁸ It passed the House on Mar. 3, retaining the provision to which Dr. Lattimore objected, despite a committee report, printed in *Annals of Congress*, 8 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 1577-1579, sustaining his objections. Act approved Mar. 3, 1805, ch. 38.

⁹ This memorial, presented by Dr. Lattimore Jan. 25, is described in *Annals of Congress*, 8 Cong., 2 sess., p. 1012; his report on it, presented Feb. 9, is to be found *ibid.*, pp. 1190-1191.

¹⁰ Act of Mar. 3, 1805, ch. 35.

¹¹ Act of Mar. 2, 1805, ch. 23.

¹² By action of the freeholders under the federal act of May 7, 1800, ch. 41.

¹³ But this was settled two days later, by act of Mar. 3, ch. 31.

¹⁴ Dec. 12, 1804.

and such the preparations which are made, by the nations of Europe, that politicians have anticipated coalitions as extensive, and contests as severe, as those which afflicted that devoted quarter of the globe, about the close of the last century. Indeed, in the present contentions, there appears nothing of that principle of liberty, which seemed to exist in the struggles of those times, to assuage the wounds inflicted on the mind of the philanthropist, in contemplating scenes so abhorrent to humanity. This great principle, so dear to America, appears to be given up by the rest of the world, as something of mere ideal existence. And the great mass of mankind, seems to resign, as with folded arms, to the reins of power, which the few have usurped.

To relieve the mind from the painful impressions of this gloomy picture, we need only turn its attention to the situation of our own country. Enjoying peace at home, respected abroad, possessing an annually increasing revenue, rich in vast territories for the settlement of a fast growing population, and above all, blest with genuine liberty, both civil and religious, what nation is so happy? Who is not thankful that he is an American? Who is not content with a government, created by the will, and devoted to the interests of the people?

This day the Senate proceeded to decide upon the several articles of impeachment exhibited against judge Chase, and acquitted him of all the charges contained therein.¹⁵

From the great pressure of business, it is supposed that the session will not be concluded until the 3d instant. On the fourth, Thomas Jefferson is to take the necessary oath of office, as preparatory to the commencement of a new term of presidential service, which the nation has again called upon him to perform.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
WM. LATTIMORE.

3. *On the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1836.*

THE following two letters, addressed to James K. Polk as speaker of the Twenty-fourth Congress, and preserved in volume 22 of the Polk Papers in the Library of Congress, were brought to the editor's attention by Professor John S. Bassett. It is thought that they will be of interest to students of the *House Journals*. The occasion which elicited the letters can be understood by examining the *Journal* for June 13 and 15, 1836, and the *Register of Debates* for the same days. On June 13, the House having taken up the bill for the admission of Arkansas, John Quincy Adams moved an amendment. Sherrod Williams of Kentucky moved the previous question. "Mr. Adams objected to the right of Mr. Williams to the floor, on the ground that he [Adams] had not yielded the floor after having submitted his motion to amend, but had remained standing whilst the clerk was reading his amendment." The Speaker ruled against him,

¹⁵ William Plumer's *Memorandum of Proceedings in the U. S. Senate*, pp. 308-310.

and was sustained by the House. On June 15 Adams sought to amend the journal in respect of the passage just quoted, but was overruled by the House. Adams in his *Memoirs*, IX. 296, relates the matter thus: "15th. I obtained a copy of the original draft of the journal of the day before yesterday, with the erasures and alterations in it, and, after the reading this morning of the journal of yesterday, I moved that the journal of the day before be made to read as it had already been drawn up by the Assistant Clerk. This occasioned a debate of an hour, . . . and my amendment was rejected, by yeas and nays."

Colonel Walter S. Franklin was clerk of the House of Representatives from 1833 to his death in 1838. Samuel Burch, whom Adams (X. 45) speaks of as "the most efficient clerk in the office", had been there since 1805 at least (*Journal*, April 17, 1806), and was now assistant clerk of the House. In the *Works of James Buchanan*, III. 194, appended to Buchanan's speech on the Expunging Resolution, is a letter from Burch to Franklin, April 6, 1836, stating that, from the first days of the House till 1823, the "rough journal" had not been preserved after the printed version had been made, though a manuscript journal was made up by copying from the printed text; but that from 1823 on he had caused the rough journal to be preserved and bound in volumes.

WALTER S. FRANKLIN TO JAMES K. POLK.

Office of the Clerk of the House of

Reps, WASHINGTON, June 15, 1836.

Sir

Mr Adams having on yesterday stated that he intended making some motion in relation to the Journal of Monday last,¹ it becomes me to state the usual practice in making up the Journal of the day.

Mr Burch the journalizing clerk makes up the journal from my minutes and submits it to me before handing it to the Speaker for his correction. I make such alterations in it as are necessary or as suggest themselves to me as proper, after which it is, agreeably to the rule of the House, handed to the Speaker for his correction.

Erasures and interlineations are invariably made when the first draft of the Journal as written out by Mr Burch is altered either by the Speaker or myself before it is read to the House and scarcely a journal is made up and read to the House that does not contain them. It would be impossible to have a fair copy of it made between the time it is submitted to the Speaker and the meeting of the House and of course the journal read in the House is the one approved of by the House, and from which the jour[nal] of the House is printed.

In relation to the journal of Monday Mr Burch wrote the first draft of the journal and submitted it to the Speaker. The Speaker sent for me and after consultation as to the best mode of expression

¹ June 13.

to be used in relation to the fact it was concluded that the mode made use of in the paragraph referred to by Mr Adams, as read to the House, was the best and adopted accordingly.

The Journal of that day was made up and corrected in the way that it has always been done since I have had the direction of it and as it now stands was read to the House.

Your Obt servt

W. S. FRANKLIN

Clk. Ho. of Reps. U. S.

SAMUEL BURCH TO J. K. POLK.

House of Representatives, WASHINGTON,
June 15, 1836.

Sir

In compliance with your desire expressed to me this morning, I give you the following statement.

I have, *exclusively*, made up the Journals of the Ho. Reps of the U. S. for the last 23 years, and *occasionally*, before that time. I write it up from the short minutes (which are a species of shorthand) taken at the table, and from the papers which come before the Ho.

In fulfilling this duty it necessarily often, indeed daily, happens that I have upon revising and comparing to erase lines and some times whole Entries. Changes are occasionally made by the clerk where (not being usually in the House) I have mistaken the course of proceeding. The rule requires the Speaker to Examine *and correct* the Journal daily before it is read in the Ho. I submit it to him every morning. He examines it with care, and if he discovers any thing on it which he deems proper to have changed or corrected, the changes or corrections are made. All the alterations which are made appear on the face of the paper.

It is the original Rough draft which is read in the House and is preserved. It cannot be examined until within a few minutes of the hour of meeting—it is therefore wholly impossible to copy it before it is time to read it in the Ho.; a dozen clerks could not do it—and indeed I think it proper that the original draft should be the official draft.

I speak advisedly when I say that from the commencement of the govt. it has been the practice to make the alterations on the face of the paper and that the original Rough draft is the one which has been always read to the House; and I will further state that my drafts of late years are much more perfect and contain less alterations than those of former days.

During the present session, in consequence of the fact of the Journal seeming to excite more attention on the part of the Speaker and members than usual, I have been more than usually careful in constructing the Entries. I frequently write them fuller than I deem necessary or even proper, as, in making alterations or corrections, it is much easier to erase than to insert. This was the case with respect to the Entry about Mr Adams' appeal on Monday last. That paragraph now stands as, upon advisement, it was supposed to contain a more explicit statement *of fact*, than as originally drawn out *by me*, having placed in it *remarks* which it was supposed a *Journal* of proceedings had nothing to do with.

S. BURCH.

4. Henry W. Hilliard to James Buchanan, 1858.

THE following letter is communicated by Mr. Philip G. Auchampaugh, fellow in Clark University, who found it among the papers of James Buchanan, in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The writer, Henry W. Hilliard of Alabama (1806-1892), had been a Whig representative in Congress from 1845 to 1851, but at the time when the letter was written he had left the Whig party and was a leader of the anti-Yancey Democrats in Alabama. From 1877 to 1881 he was United States minister to Brazil. Adams's testimony as to the chief paragraph in Monroe's message of December 2, 1823, corresponds with that which he gave in conversation with George Bancroft, December 6, 1845; *Memoirs*, XII. 218. See also Mr. W. C. Ford's articles in this journal, VII. 676-696, VIII. 28-52.

MONTGOMERY, Alabama
December 29, 1858

My dear Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the pamphlet copy of your late Message, and I must again express my great gratification at your views respecting Cuba and Mexico.

As to the latter, it seems to me that *very prompt* and *strong* measures ought to be adopted. No other nation should be permitted to touch the territory of that shattered Republic—the *debris* belongs to us.

In regard to the "Monroe Doctrine", I know that Mr. Adams gave it the interpretation fixed upon it by yourself. I alluded to it in my speech on the Oregon question,¹ attributing the authorship to Mr. Adams, who was at that time a Member of the House, and I gave it the construction which you attach to it, and Mr. Adams in that phase of it recognized it, *and walking to my desk assured me that he himself wrote that paragraph of Mr. Monroe's Message.*²

You will I am sure appreciate the freedom with which I write respecting a doctrine which interested me so much. I enjoyed the honor of a personal friendship with Mr. Adams ever after: and the last words that he ever addressed to anyone were addressed to me, as I stood by his chair just before his prostration under the final blow.³

I am, Dear Sir,

Very respectfully and truly,
Your obedient Servant,
HENRY W. HILLIARD.

¹ Hilliard's maiden speech in the House, Jan. 6, 1846.

² In Hilliard's *Politics and Pen Pictures* (New York, 1892), p. 143, he describes Adams's cordial congratulations on this occasion, but without quoting any remarks on the subject here treated.

³ Hilliard, *ibid.*, p. 173.

5. *The Assassination of President Lincoln, 1865.*

THE following letter, now in the possession of Mr. Hadley H. Walch, of Grand Rapids, Michigan, son of the man to whom it was addressed, was brought to the attention of the *Review* by Professor C. H. Van Tyne. The writer, Hon. James Tanner, now residing in Washington, where since 1904 he has been register of wills for the District of Columbia, kindly consents to its publication. Born in 1844, Mr. Tanner enlisted early in the Civil War in the 87th New York Volunteers, and lost both legs at the second battle of Bull Run.

In 1864 [he writes] I attended Ames's Business College, Syracuse, New York, for the purpose of studying shorthand. Henry F. Walch, of Grand Rapids, Michigan, was a fellow student of shorthand and we kept up a desultory acquaintance for some years. That winter of '64 I came to Washington to take a clerkship in the War Department. Walch continued his study and perfected himself in shorthand and was for many years, I think, reporter in the courts at Grand Rapids, Michigan.¹

Mr. Tanner remembers writing the letter to Walch. On the same day or the day preceding he wrote to his mother a long letter of similar purport. From that letter, which afterward came into his possession, a paragraph is quoted in an account by him of President Lincoln's death, in the *New York Sun* of April 16, 1905; this quotation is repeated in David M. DeWitt's *The Assassination of Abraham Lincoln*, p. 270.

Ordinance Office, War Department,
WASHINGTON, April 17, 1865

Friend Walch:

Your very welcome letter was duly received by me and now I will steal a few minutes from my duties in the office to answer it.

Of course, you must know as much as I do about the terrible events which have happened in this city during the past few days. I have nothing else to write about so I will give you a few ideas about that, perhaps which you have not yet got from the papers.

Last Friday night a friend invited me to attend the theatre with him, which I did. I would have preferred the play at Ford's Theatre, where the President was shot, but my friend chose the play at Grover's, which was "Aladdin, or the Wonderful Lamp".² While sitting there witnessing the play about ten o'clock or rather a little after, the entrance door was thrown open and a man exclaimed, "President Lincoln is assassinated in his private box at Ford's!" Instantly all was excitement and a terrible rush commenced and someone cried out, "Sit down, it is a ruse of the pickpockets." The audience generally agreed to this, for the most of them sat down, and the play went on; soon, however, a gentleman came out from behind the scenes and informed us that the sad news was too true. We instantly dispersed.

¹ Mr. Walch occupied that position from 1869 till his death in 1920.

² Grover's, or the New National Theatre, still called by the latter name.

On going out in the street we were horrified to learn that Mr. Seward had been attacked and severely injured while in bed at his house. Myself and friend went up to Willard's,³ which is a short distance above Grover's, to learn what we could, but could learn nothing there. The people were terribly excited. Ford's Theatre is on Tenth St. between E and F, Grover's is on the Avenue near Fourteenth St. and just below Willard's; it is about four blocks up from Ford's. My boarding house is right opposite Ford's Theatre. We then got on the cars and went down to Tenth St. and up Tenth St. to Ford's and to my boarding house. There was an immense throng there, very quiet yet very much excited; the street was crowded and I only got across on account of my boarding there. The President had been carried into the adjoining house⁴ to where I board; I went up to my room on the second floor and out on the balcony which nearly overhangs the door of Mr. Peterson's house. Members of the cabinet, the chief justice, Generals Halleck, Meiggs, Augur and others were going in and out, all looking anxious and sorrow-stricken. By leaning over the railing I could learn from time to time of His Excellency's condition, and soon learned that there was no hope of him. Soon they commenced taking testimony in the room adjoining where he lay, before Chief Justice Carter,⁵ and General Halleck⁶ called for a reporter: no one was on hand, but one of the head clerks in our office, who boarded there,⁷ knew I could write shorthand and he told the General so, and he bade him call me, so he came to the door and asked me to come down and report the testimony. I went down and the General passed me in, as the house was strictly guarded, of course. I went into a room between the rear room and the front room.⁸ Mrs. Lincoln was in the front room weeping as though her heart would break. In the back room lay His Excellency breathing hard, and with every breath a groan. In the room where I was were Generals Halleck, Meiggs, Augur and others, all of the cabinet excepting Mr. Seward, Chief Justice Chase and Chief Justice Carter of the District of Columbia, Andrew Johnson⁹ and many other distinguished men. A solemn silence pervaded the whole throng; it was a terrible moment. Never in my life was I surrounded by half so impressive circumstances. Opposite me at the table where I sat writing sat Secre-

³ Willard's Hotel.

⁴ The Petersen house at 453 (now 516) Tenth Street, still standing, in which the present occupant, Mr. O. H. Oldroyd, has for many years preserved his Lincoln Memorial Collection.

⁵ David K. Cartter, chief justice of the supreme court of the District of Columbia.

⁶ Mr. Tanner tells the editor that the name of Halleck was written by inadvertence; it was Major-General C. C. Augur, then commanding the department of Washington.

⁷ It was Albert Daggett, afterward of some prominence as the contractor for post-cards.

⁸ The house was two rooms deep, but with an L. The President had been laid on a bed in the L room on the first floor, here designated as the rear room. There is a diagram of the house in Nicolay and Hay's *Abraham Lincoln*, X. 300, and a diagram and a picture in Oldroyd, *Assassination of Abraham Lincoln*, pp. 36, 30.

⁹ Mr. Tanner thinks that this was an error, that Johnson was not present; but there is evidence that the Vice-President came in for a brief period.

tary Stanton writing dispatches to General Dix and others, and giving orders for the guarding of Ford's and the surrounding country. At the left of me was Judge Carter propounding the questions to the witnesses whose answers I was jotting down in Standard Phonography. I was so excited when I commenced that I am afraid that it did not much resemble Standard Phonography or any other kind, but I could read it readily afterward, so what was the difference? In fifteen minutes I had testimony enough down to hang Wilkes Booth, the assassin, higher than ever Haman hung.¹⁰ I was writing shorthand for about an hour and a half, when I commenced transcribing it. I thought I had been writing about two hours when I looked at the clock and it marked half past four A. M. I commenced writing about 12 M. I could not believe that it was so late, but my watch corroborated it. The surrounding circumstances had so engrossed my attention that I had not noticed the flight of time. In the front room Mrs. Lincoln was uttering the most heartbroken exclamations all the night long. As she passed through the hall back to the parlor after she had taken leave of the President for the last time, as she went by my door I heard her moan, "O, my God, and have I given my husband to die," and I tell you I never heard so much agony in so few words. The President was still alive, but sinking fast. He had been utterly unconscious from the time the shot struck him and remained so until he breathed his last. At 6:45 Saturday morning I finished my notes and passed into the back room where the President lay; it was very evident that he could not last long. There was no crowd in the room, which was very small, but I approached quite near the bed on which so much greatness lay, fast losing its hold on this world. The head of the bed was toward the door; at the head stood Capt. Robert Lincoln weeping on the shoulder of Senator Sumner. General Halleck stood just behind Robert Lincoln and I stood just to the left of General Halleck and between him and General Meiggs.¹¹ Secretary Stanton was there trying every way to be calm and yet he was very much moved. The utmost silence prevailed, broken only by the sound of strong men's sobs. It was a solemn time, I assure you. The President breathed heavily until a few minutes before he breathed his last, then his breath came easily and he passed off very quietly.

As soon as he was dead Rev. Dr. Gurley, who has been the President's pastor since his sojourn in this city,¹² offered up a very impressive prayer. I grasped for my pencil which was in my pocket, as I wished to secure his words, but I was very much disappointed to find that my pencil had been broken in my pocket. I could have taken it very easily

¹⁰ Mr. Tanner writes, "Various witnesses were brought in who had either been in Ford's Theatre or up in the vicinity of Mr. Seward's residence. Among them were Harry Hawk, who had been Asa Trenchard that night in the play, *Our American Cousin*, Mr. Alfred Cloughly, Colonel G. V. Rutherford, and others. . . . Through all the testimony given by those who had been in Ford's Theatre that night there was an undertone of horror which held the witnesses back from positively identifying the assassin as Booth. Said Harry Hawk, 'To the best of my belief, it was Mr. John Wilkes Booth, but I will not be positive,' and so it went through the testimony of others but the sum total left no doubt as to the identity of the assassin."

¹¹ See the diagram in Nicolay and Hay.

¹² Rev. Dr. Phineas D. Gurley, of the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church.

as he spoke very favorably for reporting. The friends dispersed, Mrs. Lincoln and family going to the White House, which she had left the night before to attend the theatre with him who never returned to it except in his coffin.

Secretary Stanton told me to take charge of the testimony I had taken, so I went up to my room and took a copy of it, as I wished to keep both my notes and the original copy which I had made while there in the house. They will ever be cherished monuments to me of the awful night and the circumstances with which I found myself so unexpectedly surrounded and which will not soon be forgotten.¹³

Saturday night I took the copy I had made to the Secretary's house, but as he was asleep I did not see him, so I left them with my card. I tell you, I would not regret the time and money I have spent on Phonography if it never brought me more than it did that night, for that brought me the privilege of standing by the deathbed of the most remarkable man of modern times and one who will live in the annals of his country as long as she continues to have a history.

Frank Leslie's Illustrated will have a good picture of the building there made celebrated by this sad event on that evening. I saw the sketch made by the artist of the theatre, and it was very correct, indeed. He also sketched the inside of the room where the President died, also the outside of the building, as well as the adjoining buildings on both sides. You will see the house I board in has a balcony along the front of the two rooms on the second floor; I occupy both of those rooms.¹⁴

You can imagine the feeling here by judging of the feeling in your own place, only it is the more horrifying from the fact that the President lived in our midst and was universally beloved by the People.

This morning there was published in the Chronicle the statement of one of the witnesses whom I reported, Mr. James B. Ferguson.¹⁵ You will doubtless see it in your papers as it is most important. I have an idea, which is gaining ground here, and that is that the assassin had assistance in the theatre, and that the President was invited there for the express purpose of assassinating him. The theatre is very strictly guarded now night and day.

Very truly your friend,
JAMES TANNER.

6. *W. E. Gladstone to Sir Frederick Bruce, 1866.*

THE following letter, addressed on February 5, 1866, by Mr. Gladstone, then chancellor of the exchequer, to the British minister in Washington, Sir Frederick Bruce, was found by Dr. Paul Knapp-

¹³ They were subsequently bound in a volume, and presented by Mr. Tanner to the Union League Club of Philadelphia, of whose Lincoln Memorial Collection they now form a part.

¹⁴ *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly* for April 29 has drawings, by Albert Berghaus, of the scene in the President's box at Ford's Theatre, and of the scene in the room where he died; the issue for May 20, of the exterior of the theatre and of the Petersen house, showing also the house next door, and its balcony.

¹⁵ *Washington Morning Chronicle*. Testimony of Ferguson, who kept a restaurant adjoining the theatre, is also in Benn Pitman's edition of the *Trial of the Conspirators*, pp. 76-77.

lund, assistant professor in the University of Wisconsin, among the private papers of Mr. Gladstone at Hawarden, MS. Letter Books, vol. 10, fol. 37. It is printed by permission of the trustees of the Gladstone papers. The reference is, of course, to Secretary Hugh McCulloch's Report on the Finances, December 5, 1865. Similar expressions of Gladstone in the House of Commons are quoted in McCulloch, *Men and Measures of Half a Century*, page 220.

My dear B.

I have not the honor of Mr. McCulloch's acquaintance, but I consider that all Min'r's of Finance in all civilised c'tries wh: are in amity together, are colleagues in a ministry of good will, wh: has the world for its sphere.

Is it really possible that the extraordinary people who form the U. S. are going to top their almost superhuman efforts in the war by teaching us of the old world how to grapple with a Nat'l Debt?

I have read with the utmost int. Mr. McC's report: and I am most anxious for the best answer you can kindly send me, or obtain for me, to the quest'n that I have put: for *now* his means of judgment as to the possibility of giving pract'l effect to his views must be more mature and ample than when he gave those views to the world.

I am anxious for an affirm've reply. If the Finance Min: of the U. S. really can and will do anything like what he has projected so nobly, I am humbly desirous to send back across the Atlantic at the least a faint echo of his words and deeds.

We have been paying off lately 4 or 5 mill'ns a yr along with our very heavy expend're. But if the U. S. will make our little 12mo into a comely 8vo or a portly 4to, on their side, I will do all I can both to recommend and to follow their example, within such lines as our est[ablishe]d usages will permit.

Do not be shocked at this informal communic'n and pray tell me what you can.

7. *A Record concerning Mennonite Immigration, 1873.*

[The following is communicated by Miss Gertrude S. Young, professor in the South Dakota State College at Brookings, who has published other material relating to Mennonite and Hutterische immigration into that state, in the *Collections* of the South Dakota Historical Society.]

THE tradition among Russian-German Mennonites and Hutterische relating to a certain expectation of freedom from military service after they became residents of the United States, appears with such differentiations of intensity that the degree of reasonableness of the expectation presents an interesting problem.

There are, it must be admitted from the outset, reasons to suppose that those of the Russian-German immigration of 1873 and 1874 who were of the Mennonite or of the Hutterische faith came

with some assurance of privilege in respect to war duty. Those who have followed the story of the persecutions, the wanderings, of the one group through northern Germany and into Russia, of the other from Austria into Hungary, Rumania, and Russia, have discovered an indomitable devotion to the basic principles of faith, a devotion strong enough to force them from a thrifty settlement to bare lands again and again in search for freedom from violation of that fundamental of the faiths—the doctrine of non-resistance. When in 1869 service in the Russian army and instruction in the Russian language, or unhindered withdrawal during a ten-year period, were offered as alternatives to the German settlers of Russia, there was in the situation, to the sincere Mennonite or Hutterian, no alternative. Seemingly they would not, without careful investigation of military requirements, venture forth on a voyage across distant waters to new lands. Without doubt, there were certain reasons to suppose that in the United States there would be the refuge they sought. There were long-established Mennonite congregations in America. The Mennonites, as individuals possessed of conscientious scruples against war, had been permitted, both in the Revolution and in the Civil War, exemption by money payment. Furthermore, the Canadian government, soliciting settlers for the Northwest, definitely promised freedom from military service. “Under this section,¹ all persons above-mentioned and the Mennonites expressly included, are absolutely free and exempt by the law of Canada from military service or duty either in time of peace or war.”² Would the United States do less? Certainly some words in President Grant’s inaugural address, 1873, were particularly reassuring. “Rather do I believe that our Great Maker is preparing the world, in His own good time, to become one nation, speaking one language, and when armies and navies will be no longer required.” Yet, more exact assurance must have been given these shrewd folk.

In the spring of 1873, fourteen delegates were sent to America from the Choritz, Molotschna, and Crimea Mennonites and Hutterische. With the help of John Funk of Elkhart, Indiana, one of the leaders among American Mennonites, and of various Canadian government officials and United States railroad land agents, they were made acquainted with the open areas of Canada, Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, and Dakota. A few of the delegates went even farther west and southwest. The Middle West with its cheap

¹ 31 Vict., c. 40, sect. 17 (approved May 22, 1868).

² Annotation of Clerk of Privy Council to Order in Council based on act cited in preceding foot-note. See discussion in *The Mennonite*, Berne, Ind., Apr. 24, 1919.

or homestead lands, just then being settled by a farming population, offered the logical choice. The selections of localities within that field were left to the personal preferences of delegates and persuasions of agents. The combined forces of delegates' recommendations and agents' persuasions turned the great Mennonite immigration of 1874 principally toward Manitoba and Kansas, but to some degree to Dakota. Quite as we should expect, however, these delegates were not concerned alone with assurance of economic satisfaction. Their people had enjoyed fertile lands in various countries. Would these rich prairies, too, have in turn to be abandoned? With characteristically direct simplicity the delegates, or representatives from the delegation, proceeded to Washington to discuss the military requirements of the United States with President Grant himself. It is upon the precise exchange of opinions in that conference that the Mennonites must have based whatever definite expectation of military privilege they received, if they received any.

The writer has heard the story of the travels of the investigators from two of the group.³ They, however, were unable to give any accurate information about the Washington conference beyond the fact that certain of the band, among them a Paul Tschetter, did make the detour to Washington. They had known, of course, what occurred, but in the lapse of years they had forgotten the exact phrases of the conversations. In the absence of any other means of knowledge about the agreement—if there were any careless assurances—it was stimulating to learn⁴ that possibly the story could be found in the diary which Paul Tschetter was said to have kept concerning the whole of his American experiences. It was a further satisfaction to discover that the diary is still in existence, in the possession of Mr. Tschetter's son. The record with which we are concerned begins on July 26, 1873.⁵

NEW YORK, New York, July 26, 1873. After we saw the land in the West, mostly in Minnesota and Dakotas, which took a little over fifty days, accompanied by Rev. J. J. Funk of Elkhart, Indiana, and Mr. Hueller, a railroad official from New York, we intended to see President Grant at Washington, D. C., to find out something of the law of the United States. Our main thought was the military question. While looking for land we got some information that the United States hires

³ Conversations with Mr. Chris. Miller, Freeman, South Dakota, and Mr. Waldner of BonHomme Colony, Tabor, South Dakota.

⁴ Through a letter of Professor C. Henry Smith, Bethel College, Newton, Kansas, Jan. 27, 1923.

⁵ The whole diary, including the copy of the petition to the President, and that of the letter from Secretary Fish, is in Mr. Tschetter's German script. Translation by the son, Mr. Joseph Tschetter.

its soldiers in time of peace, but no one could tell us any definite thing about the course the government would take with its subjects in case a great war should set in. On account of this question we were determined to see the President of the United States. The following petition was drawn up:

"To the President of the United States of America: We, as a delegation of Russia with the intention to migrate to the United States of America, petition the President of the United States of America on the following points. For at least fifty years we want to be entirely free from all military obligation. After fifty years we are willing to pay the amount that all the rest of the Mennonites or peoples whose Confessions of Faith are against their taking up arms pay. Otherwise we are willing to pay all taxes and submit to all the laws of the United States like other citizens, that is, as long as they are not against our conscience or belief. The military question drove us from Russia and we are seeking for a land where we can live peaceably according to our faith. We also ask the esteemed and excellent President of the United States whether it may be permitted to live in colonies or villages, to have our own schools where we may teach the German language, whether we will be free from holding public offices such as judgeships, etc., and from sitting on juries. On what condition will government land be given and how many acres will be given to one person? Will we, as Mennonites, be excused from taking an oath? Will our *yes* or *no* be accepted by the government instead of the oath? Our Confession of Faith does not allow us to swear or take an oath. In case the government should later try to compel us to do something against our Confession of Faith, will we have a right to move out of the country? For all these questions we ask a definite answer from the excellent President of the United States of America so that we as a delegation will be able to tell our oppressed people in Russia something of the privileges of America. (Signed) PAUL TSCHETTER, LORENZ TSCHETTER."

As we did not find the President at home we went with Mr. Hueller to New York where we found President Grant in his summer resort on a small island not far from the coast.⁶ On July 27, 1873, at eight o'clock, Mr. Hueller introduced us to President Grant. He was very friendly. We gave him our petition. As it was written in the German language, Mr. Hueller had to read it in English to the President. The President said: "It will take a little time to give an answer to these questions." We decided to go home to Russia with the understanding with President Grant that he would send the answer to Russia. We reached our homes safely. About a month later Mr. Hueller arrived at our homes in Russia with the answer from the President.

"Washington, D. C., Sept. 5, 1873. To the Mennonite Delegation of Russia to America: The Honorable President of the United States of America gave me your petition to look over and as there are several questions of importance involved in your petition, I was not in a position to answer it without consulting authorities. The demands in your document are: that your people should be free from all military service for fifty years, and that after that you pay the same tribute as the other Christians whose Confessions of Faith do not allow them to take part in war; and also that you be excused from holding judgeships and from sitting on juries; and that you be allowed to manage your own school

⁶ President Grant was at Long Branch, N. J., from about July 23 to about Sept. 7.

affairs. We say to your requests that holding office or sitting on jury, or managing school affairs are matters under the control of the state in which you settle. I, the President of the United States of America, cannot excuse you from those laws enacted in the state that you are living in. The President of the United States of America cannot make you any promise in connection with your request for entire exemption from military service for fifty years, nor for dealing with you after that as suggested in your petition. But we are sure—and it will prove true—that the United States of America will not be entangled in any great war for the coming fifty years that would make it necessary to molest you. But in case there should come a great war, I have not much doubt but that then Congress would find itself justified in finding a way to honor your faith without releasing you from the duties of citizens. Excuse the delay in my answer, as I had to have a personal talk with the President in order to be able to write this opinion or reply. With great respect, Your obedient servant, HAMILTON FISH."

Those Mennonites and Hutterische who are familiar with this reply would without doubt agree with the comment upon the letter made by Mr. Joseph Tschetter. "Now Grant did not speak positively nor did he make great promises. He only expresses his opinion and leaves the matter to Congress. I for my part think that in the last war our Congress or War Department acted in accordance with Grant's opinion."

GERTRUDE S. YOUNG.

Note: Papers of Count Tisza.

In our January number, pp. 301-302, in the introduction to the papers of Count Tisza there published, it was mentioned that the second of these documents, Count Tisza's memorandum of March 5, 1914, was at the last moment discovered to be already in print, in a pamphlet by Bishop Wilhelm Fraknói, published in Vienna in 1919. Lest this mention should lead any reader to suppose that the fact of previous publication was already known to Professor Marczali, when he sent the papers to this journal, we wish to explain that this was not the case. Although Professor Marczali had used freely and frequently the extensive collection of publications regarding the war preserved in the National Museum at Budapest, this pamphlet was not there, having been published during a time of blockade that prevented its reception; and though he had conversed with Dr. Fraknói on more than one occasion of meeting, the latter had never happened to mention the pamphlet in question.

On p. 302, l. 36, for 1916 read 1914; p. 303, l. 22, for 1916 read 1914. The errors arose from an unfortunate misreading of Professor Marczali's text. Ed.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

The New Larned History for Ready Reference, Reading, and Research: the Actual Words of the World's Best Historians, Biographers, and Specialists. . . . Based on the work of the late J. N. LARNED, now completely revised, enlarged, and brought up to date. In twelve volumes. Volume II. *Balkh to Chont*; volume V. *Froe to Inva*; volume VI. *Inve to Lyki*. (Springfield, Mass.: C. A. Nichols Publishing Company. 1923. Pp. vii, 839-1734; viii, 3543-4446; viii, 4447-5350.)

THE second volume (which reaches the reviewer late, when volumes III. and IV. have already been reviewed, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXIX. 110-111) is the most varied of the series, containing as it does the historical headings: Baltic, Belgium, Byzantine Empire, Bohemia, Brazil, Bulgaria, British Empire, Canada, and China; the political and social headings: Bicameral System, Budget, Boy Scouts, Capitalism, Caucus, Charities, Boston, Chicago, etc.; the religious: Baptists, Bible, Brahmanism, Buddhism, Catacombs; the cultural and literary: Books, Cathedrals; the scientific: Chemistry; the diplomatic: Berlin, Brest-Litovsk.

On Belgium, Bryce, Toynbee, Verhaeren, Hazen, House, and Seymour afford a good variety, while on the Belgian Congo a judicious selection has been made, even from those who have been emphatically partisan, Morel, for example. Bosnia-Herzegovina is presented by Asboth and Drage, a worthy choice; but more variety might have been secured. On Bulgaria, Forbes, Laveleye, Murray, Monroe, Gérard, and Gibbon are probably as good authorities as could be chosen. The article taken from the *Geographical Journal* is especially moderate and comprehending. Byzantine history may seem cramped in the space allotted, but the quality of material from Bury, Oman, Gibbon, Hallam, Finlay, Pears, Bikelas, etc., is excellent. While many topics on Bohemia have been assigned to unsympathetic writers of a German tinge (note Schiller on the "defenestration of Prague"), Häusser's handling of the Protestant movement is good, but Leger, Denis, Maurice might have been used more copiously in place of Taylor, Coxe, Schweinitz, etc. Later and better authorities than Van Cleef (1915) are available, in particular Císar and Pokarný (1922). Čapek is used too sparingly on Bohemia, though more on Bohemian literature, which, in general, is more sympathetically treated.

The early history of the Barbary States, for which the editors rely upon Prescott and Robertson, has errors of omission and commission:

Charles V. sailed for Tunis from Cagliari in June, not July, 1535 (p. 881); the real importance of the expeditions to the Barbary Coast is not touched upon. Sources in English have been lacking, yet Lane-Poole has been used too sparingly here. Martin, Schouler, and Adams review French and American relations with the Barbary pirates, Walpole the English. Knox and Morell are not happy choices.

The article on the British Empire contains statistical tables, the world map, and a chronological survey, together with a full discussion of imperial conferences taken from government publications, the Oxford *Survey*, Keith, Egerton, Holland, Muir, etc.

The text of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (p. 1146) repeats the erroneous version of Article IV. "Ardahan" not "Erivan" was to be evacuated by Russian troops along with Kars and Batoum. (See *Amer. Jour. International Law*, XIII. 313-316.) Shades of the Cyprus Convention bear witness!

There are seven maps in the second volume, including the one of the New York State Barge Canal. China has two, one for the railway lines; Canada, Central America, Burgundy of Charles the Bold, and the world, one each. Four of the seven are colored.

The fifth and sixth volumes, of course, resemble internally as well as externally those preceding. Germany, Greece, Hungary, India, Ireland, Italy, Japan, the Jews, and Latin America each command much space; less is given to Yugoslavia, the Goths, the Huns, the Indians, and Jerusalem. A long article on Jesus Christ adds to the religious history, while "Hellenism" and "Homer" supplement the article on Greece as "Holy Roman Empire" supplements "Germany", "Korea" the one on Japan, etc. Other important supplementary articles are those on Italian, Latin, and German literatures, London, Hinduism, the Knights Hospitallers, historical romance, international law, and Hague Conventions.

Of the less historical in character, the articles on inventions, immigration and emigration, labor and liquor problems, housing, and insurance are most noteworthy, as well as that on libraries.

The readings average up very well in comparison with the third and fourth volumes, being chosen generally from those whom we can accept with equanimity as authoritative. The cross-reference system has been worked out with commendable thoroughness, though with certain obvious and natural weaknesses. The biographical portion, if anything, is still weaker. One has a little chill to find merely a series of cross-references following the name of Lincoln.

The topic History is well served. Under such headings as philosophy of history, science of history, moral lessons, educational and political value, writing, origins, philosophic interpretations, Middle Ages, humanists, political, nationalist, romantic and modern scientific historians, current schools, new orientation, etc., Flint, Shotwell, Gooch, Thayer, Stephens, Jameson discourse at some length; Burr, Bury, Hulme, Masson, Dunning, Schapiro, Low, Droysen, Channing, Hart and Turner, and Barnes are all levied upon for their special contributions.

The number of constitutions now printed allows some generalizations. The Belgian, Canadian, Czechoslovak, Italian, Irish, Japanese, Yugoslav, and Korean lack any reference to the sources on which they are based. For the Australian, Argentine, Brazilian, Central American, Chilean, Chinese, Colombian, and French constitutions ample references are cited, but for the Greek, not originally included (see p. 2331), only the Poly-zoides version is specified. The German has collateral but no direct citations. The omission of Lithuania, Latvia, and Esthonia is defensible on various grounds, though the Esthonian constitution has one unique provision at least. The Bulgarian is missing and also, apparently (see p. 2331), is the Rumanian to be; a loss, because the latter possesses distinctive features. Rumania is still considered too "small" a state, apparently. The Covenant is under "League of Nations" (without reference), and is followed (without identification) by the related articles (36, 38, 59) from the statute establishing the permanent court of international justice.

Among the treaties and diplomatic papers in these volumes, the Anglo-Japanese alliance, the Root-Takahira agreement, the Hawaiian annexation resolutions, and various Korean treaties are notable.

The grouping of the royal Henries, Alberts, Alfreds, Charleses, Georges, etc., is more confusing than a simple numerical and chronological order. Was Henry II. (p. 4048) really a *king* of Austria?

There are some errors in spelling, as "Gooche" (pp. 3694, 3696); and typographical errors, some rather obvious, as (p. 4996) "later" for "latter". The use of the term "Greater Serbia", in connection with Jugoslavia (p. 4935) or the desires of the Yugoslavs, is to be deprecated. Herzegovina (p. 4053) has a Serb and Slavic background, not a Turkish one. Madame Arnold and Delisle are co-authors with Kellner (p. 4175) of *Austria of the Austrians and Hungary of the Hungarians*.

The illustrations and the genealogical tables continue with the same originality in subject and arrangement. The maps of Germany decidedly predominate, with six of that country, including one that compares 1870 with 1923. Others are of India and the Industrial Revolution, two or three each, with one each of Hawaii, the Hansa, and Greece. In the sixth volume, Ireland, Italy, Japan, and Latin America divide nine maps between them, Italy having three, including those for salient periods. The reader could turn to the former more easily if page references were used instead of "See Ireland: 1691".

ARTHUR I. ANDREWS.

Freedom of the Mind in History. By HENRY OSBORN TAYLOR. (New York: Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1923. Pp. xii, 297. \$2.25.)

DR. TAYLOR'S previous work in the field of history explains the choice of the title of this book and enables us to comprehend the spirit in which

it is written. He has been for a long period preoccupied with the intellectual and spiritual development of mankind, particularly in the exposition of thought and emotion in the ancient world and in the Middle Ages. It is but natural therefore that in planning his West Lectures, delivered in 1920 at Leland Stanford University, he should profit by his previous extensive studies and endeavor to concentrate in a brief and unpretentious form what has most deeply impressed him in these learned researches. This he has done in this handy and well-made book, *Freedom of the Mind in History*, which is substantially based upon those lectures but has been enriched and adapted to a wider audience by "a good three years" of reflection and revision.

In presenting his conclusions to the public in a printed form, Dr. Taylor finds himself disposed to entertain some doubts regarding the reception that may be accorded to his work. "Doubtless", he writes, "the subject lacks definiteness. It is elusive and full of snares." And he adds: "I feel it will be found logically reprehensible, and by no means free from inconsistencies." But he finds consolation in the thought that "the full-minded man of many sympathies is a working union of inconsistencies".

The writer of this book is both "full-minded" and full of "sympathies", and among them a keen sympathy with exact science is not the least developed. He fully appreciates the limitations that must be observed in using the expression "freedom of the mind", and seems particularly anxious not to be understood as propounding any metaphysical thesis. In fact, he disavows the purpose to offer a thesis of any kind; for, he asserts, "The entire significance of history will not be harnessed to the proof of any definite thesis".

Before the determinist, and especially the economic determinist, rejects this proposition because incompatible with his own convictions, he would do well to read carefully this book. The chapters on the Plastic Environment and on Compulsions from Within should persuade the reader that the author is in no degree insensible to the non-mental influences which fix the path of the historical process and determine the greater part of human activity. "Thought of in terms of evolution, fathomless depths of elemental potencies and animal impulse lie behind and within the animal nature of man; . . . yet out of these driven and determined impulses, out of these animal instincts and perhaps animal thoughts, obscure, suggested, and confused, the qualities of the human mind apparently emerge, and the intellectual powers of judgment and selection."

In the chapter on the Freedom of the Mind, we pass from organic determination and "touch the hem of distinctive human progress". This, the author announces, is his "proper theme". Up to this point, although before it there may be a "dumb self-directing", all is plant or animal growth; "but man's endeavors to advance his life are more conscious and articulate; their essence lies in the articulate consciousness of the attempt".

There is here no resort to a metaphysical line of argument to prove the reality of the mind's freedom. There is in fact no attempt even to define it. It is accepted as a constituent of experience.

Somehow inscrutably, mentality begins to function in the higher animals, and manifests itself in man. The human mind develops; its range deepens and enlarges, gaining in richness and complexity. It evolves faculties of deliberation and choice. It becomes capable of freedom. Henceforth it must seek its goal in a more perfect intellectual and moral freedom. . . . Assume that force as well as matter is constant in the universe. Has anyone applied this principle convincingly to organic life growing in intricacy through the successive stages of the world? Apparently it is not true of mind and its manifestations. . . . Nevertheless, the wilful choices of the mind are the true factors of human progress. And sometimes these decisions of the free intelligence show themselves so apparently adverse to the leading of circumstance and material advantage, so disregarding of all, as to make a true antinomy, a conflicting principle of will athwart the sequences of natural law.

To such a statement what has the organic determinist to reply? We do not, in fact, know the nexus between organic action and mental process. We do not even know the nexus between the data of the organic process itself. What we know is the succession of phenomena, some of which manifest the persistence of force and some of which do not manifest it. Who then is the dogmatist, he who adheres to the facts of experience, or he who imposes upon all phenomena a formula not proved by experience to be universal, and hence so far as our knowledge goes only imaginary?

"For the larger judgments and decisions of life", writes Dr. Taylor, "the final criterion of truth and value lies in the total sum of experience. Regard must be had to the totality, if not the wholeness, of our natures." It is, therefore, illogical to conclude from a few physical observations and experiments in which force appears to be persistent and unchanged in quantity that art, science, philosophy, and statesmanship are purely dynamic products in which intelligence has introduced no deflection from the incidence of chemico-physical forces.

There is indeed a logically safer refuge for determinism than is found in human experience. One may say that man in all his activities is merely an automaton, having no creative partnership in what we call "progress". But escape from our apparent experience of freedom to this asylum of necessity, in which every event is counted as part of a preordained programme carried to execution by the Creator of the world, creates more problems than it solves and leaves us in a maze of contradictions.

Dr. Taylor does not ignore this theory of history, but he does not accept it. If he did, it would seem a travesty to write of the freedom of the mind. And yet his chapter on the Hypothesis of God in Human History is by no means a negation of a divine plan and a divine super-

intendence in the on-going of the world. "The thought of God", he writes, "arises from the convergence of our intellectual needs and noblest impulses"; but we are not justified by experience, or otherwise, in asserting that physical law is anywhere broken. "It enters and to a vast extent controls organic life, determining the forms and functioning of plants and animals, and apparently even the scintillas of mentality discerned in animals below the estate of man. . . . Natural law likewise determines not merely the bodily functions, but the bulkier portion of the impulses and perceptions of mankind." And yet, he continues, "the whole seems to me no brutally necessitated process into which all of us are drawn as helpless atoms. . . . I cannot think it so simply or so brutally. It is complex beyond any likely reach of our analysis". "Through all the historic periods we must accept not only the operation of natural law, but the continuing effect of animal impulse, which impregnates human nature through its long inheritance, and still measurably shapes the conduct of men and women. All these compulsions act as the vibrant and energizing background of human life." But from these basic assumptions and admissions we must rise to the equally known conscious and purposive activities of human intelligence in the path of progress—a path not always clearly marked out for it, but along which it has travelled consciously through the centuries. Occupied solely for a long period with immediate bodily needs, the human mind has engaged, even from the beginning, in a conscious quest for "an intelligible scheme of things", and it has "looked out upon this quest from the oneness of its own organic personality". And this intellectual advance has been aided by a growing, though at times a temporarily diminished, capacity for mental freedom.

The close commingling of physical coercions and intelligent discrimination is well illustrated by the growth of primitive social and political institutions. "Human beings have always nurtured, protected, and helped each other, have fought for one another as well as for themselves." Organic instincts were developed into habits and customs, in which intelligence had an increasing part. "Men have always been impelled by need—of food, shelter, clothes—and by the instincts of sex, parentage, and kind. These desires are not free. Man is *driven* by them to use his wits; . . . yet free (and not altogether determined) human ingenuity will always be at work even under the compulsion of these impulses."

With these reserves and distinctions briefly expounded in the first fifty pages of this volume, the author devotes the remainder of it to the illustration of his theme—progress through free intelligence.

Beginning with the Greek city-state, he finds that the land favored local independence and fostered individual freedom. The conditions of Greek life contributed greatly to the development of mind and to its free activity. "But it were particularly absurd to find Athenian institutions just the growth of a situation which they met or the material needs they

satisfied. . . . The freedom of the human mind never demonstrated itself", he affirms, "in the shaping of human institutions more convincingly than in the Greek city-republics, and most wonderfully at Athens."

Through the rest of this volume the reader is conducted in a rapid journey over the mountain-tops of human achievement down to the last triumphs of physical and mathematical science. It is impossible within the limits of this notice to follow the argument through this panoramic survey of history, in which the work of the greatest thinkers is passed under review. Jurisprudence, philosophy, poetry, the arts of form, and even natural science itself are brought into the witness-stand to testify regarding the freedom of the mind. Upon the validity of this array as an argument different estimates will be placed by readers according to their formed convictions. But however judgments may differ with regard to the conclusions to be drawn from this survey of human activity, it is well worth the while of those who habitually think chiefly in the terms of physical sequence to reflect upon the broader aspects of life. For those willing to do so Dr. Taylor's book cannot fail to be both stimulating and suggestive.

DAVID JAYNE HILL.

History of Assyria. By A. T. OLMSTEAD, Professor of History, Curator of the Oriental Museum, University of Illinois. (New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1923. Pp. xxxi, 695. Map. \$7.50.)

It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of this book. The publishers have excelled even their highest standards in its production, for it is superbly printed, richly, appropriately, and even wisely illustrated, and put upon the market in handsome external dress. The book deserves all that has been lavishly spent upon it, nor can one think of more that might have been offered save for a map worthy of the rest of the equipment. To match the rest of its dress the map should have been made in Edinburgh. (Why are American maps still so crude?) Professor Olmstead has produced this distinguished book by no mere chance. He has indeed had great opportunities for personal preparation at Cornell University under masters of uncommon learning and willingness such as Nathaniel Schmidt, G. L. Burr, J. R. S. Sterrett, and C. E. Bennett. To this has been added the immensely valuable experience of two long trips in the Orient. Since then at the Universities of Missouri and Illinois he has given himself without stint to a preparation, which it would be difficult to excel, for precisely this piece of work. Direct preparation is first in evidence in his admirable treatise *Western Asia in the Region of Sargon of Assyria* (1908), followed by a long line of special researches every one of them based on intimate, precise, and sustained study of the sources, and all bibliographically rich in citation

or mention of the work of predecessors. They are not indeed all of equal weight or consequence, those relating to questions of Biblical criticism, I should say, being of far less value and in some cases little else than snap judgments upon questions long under debate by the greatest Old Testament scholars. With such preparatory studies a book might have been expected of the highest scholarship, and so this is. In form its model is the highly prized *History of Egypt* by James H. Breasted, which has long held supreme place in its subject among us. That book has the defects of its qualities and these are scarcely less evident in Olmstead's work. In both books the publishers have apparently aimed at a page as free as may be from the supposed annoyance of reference foot-notes. This may have been done to entice that legendary creature the general reader, who is popularly believed to take flight from any book whose pages are thus disfigured. I fear he is in process of elimination by modern civilization and will soon cease to be. We may just as well write our books for one another, and leave him out of concern! In Breasted's book I have often wished to know whence some fact was derived, on what some inference was based, and had a search for it. In Olmstead's case it is easier if one has, as I have, all his articles, pamphlets, and papers. In one or another it will be found. But how many of our history teachers even have this background of material? In the preface Olmstead acknowledges obligation and expresses gratitude to a list of names which for sheer length would be difficult to match. They are all, so far as I can see, the names of men with whom he has had direct, immediate personal contact. I find no mention of the masters who laid the foundations on which this splendid structure has been built. Every science has a history and it is well to have it before us for refreshment if not for guidance. The men who laid these foundations were Tiele, Hommel, Winckler—where in this book are the connections with them made plain? They are indeed in one of Olmstead's best papers published seven years ago, but does the reader of this book know them?

The book is well written, in sound, workmanlike English, free from objectionable mannerisms, cant phrases, or *clichés*, but it seldom rises to distinction of style, and perhaps nowhere to splendor, such as the mighty masters in other fields have wrought. Olmstead knows this full well and gives a little sigh in the sentences, "And what a story it is that the historian of Assyria has to relate! Only a Parkman could do full justice to its color and movement". I move to amend by substituting Gibbon for Parkman. With no less a genius shall we come to fruition.

I have left no space in which to discuss any details or question judgments. It matters not. It is a sound and in the main safe book, and what boots it that here or there one would be so bold as to differ? I may perhaps venture to say that I think the last chapter of doubtful value and of misleading judgment. If, as some would maintain, it is not the historian's business to express moral judgments, it is surely not his duty to attempt to varnish or repolish badly tarnished national reputa-

tions. Assyrian savagery in war is not diminished by sad parallels elsewhere or later. The book would be much improved by a chronological table. In this it has unwisely departed from Breasted's model, for his big table is highly valued. I predict for this book a great success. It has richly deserved it.

ROBERT W. ROGERS.

The Cults of Campania. By ROY MERLE PETERSON. [Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, vol. I.] (Rome: American Academy in Rome. 1919. Pp. viii, 403. Map. \$2.50.)

Local Cults in Etruria. By LILY ROSS TAYLOR. [Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, vol. II.] (Rome: American Academy in Rome. 1923. Pp. xii, 258. Map. \$2.50.)

THE two books named above form the first volumes of a new series entitled *Papers and Monographs* which the American Academy in Rome has undertaken in addition to the *Memoirs*, of which three volumes have already appeared. We may well hope that other substantial volumes may quickly follow, that the Academy may win for itself the place in the scholarly world that it should hold beside the English, French, and other schools and academies established in the Eternal City.

The volumes under present consideration are welcome additions to our knowledge of religious conditions in the Roman dominions outside the city of Rome. Valuable as Toutain's comprehensive work *Les Cultes Païens* is, and many other detailed studies of this or that field which may be named with honor, we shall require numerous studies like these that Mr. Peterson and Miss Taylor have given us, before we can gain a just and adequate idea of religious conditions in the Graeco-Roman world; and only such detailed studies can make evident the limits, often most narrow, of our knowledge. Yet this last matter is of prime importance in history no less than in other pursuits, for the historian is often tempted to see the tiny scattered peaks of knowledge as an unbroken plateau of certainty, forgetting the abysses of ignorance from which the rare facts stand out.

The district of Campania that Mr. Peterson selected for his study was early settled and became populous and rich. The primitive inhabitants were influenced first by Greek settlements, which began along the coast in the eighth century before our era with the foundation of Cumae; then by Etruscans, who pressed down from the north and acquired control of the interior plains; next by their Italic cousins, the Samnites, who overran the entire area in the second half of the fifth century B.C.; and finally by the Romans themselves. Unfortunately our data are so few and scattered that we can seldom form an adequate notion of the several contributions made to the resulting civilization

and religion. In his introductory chapter Mr. Peterson reviews the development of religion in his district, limiting himself happily to facts and the reasonably certain conjectures. The Greeks, naturally, had the greatest influence through colonies and trade: they carried on a lively commerce with the colonies of Magna Graecia and Sicily, as well as with their home cities, so that their divinities and their wares flowed into Campania from many sources; from the coast Greek cults spread into the interior, and early made their way to Rome. The influence of the so-called Sibylline books is the most striking example of the effect of Campanian or strictly Cumaean connection with the Latin city.

The effect of Etruscan domination in the interior of the district cannot now be traced in matters of religion. But the influence of Campania on the Latins perhaps increased as time went on. After the Second Punic War Oriental cults, employing Puteoli as an entry-port, found foothold about the Bay of Naples, and before long began to make themselves known at Rome; in due time Christianity followed in the paths that its pagan predecessors had pursued.

The more important towns—Cumae, Baiae, Misenum, Puteoli, Neapolis, Pompeii, Herculaneum, Nuceria, Stabiae, Surrentum, Capreae, and Capua—naturally furnish most of the material considered, and to the detailed study of the evidence from these localities Mr. Peterson rightly gives the greater part of his book. Although the volume did not appear until 1923, it is published under the date of 1919, since various hindrances have prevented the author from considering the material and literature later than that date.

Miss Taylor's book covers the area of ancient Etruria, whose influence on early Rome was enormous; but unfortunately we cannot now trace that influence in a satisfactory manner. A sketch of the history of Etruria serves as an introduction to the study of the extant evidence for cults in the several communities; then follows a chapter on the Etruscan League under the Empire and the *Ordo LX Haruspicum*, in which a well-known bas-relief from Caere is used as evidence in support of the view that it was under Claudius that the Etruscan League was revived and the art of the *haruspices* restored to its ancient honor. In her final chapter Miss Taylor presents a conspectus of the details that she has been considering.

Each volume is well documented with references to the sources and to the modern literature; and each is provided with a map and an index.

CLIFFORD H. MOORE.

Le Religioni Misteriosofiche del Mondo Antico. By NICOLA TURCHI. [Biblioteca di Scienze e Filosofia, vol. I.] (Rome: G. Bardi. 1923. Pp. 220. 16 plates.)

INTEREST in the comparative study of religions in the Italian universities aroused by the Mussolini government is evidenced by the con-

tinual appearance of books and articles. In the field of the ancient mystery cults alone may be noted such studies as U. Fracassini's *Il Misticismo Greco e il Cristianesimo* (1922), C. Lanzoni's *Religione Dionisiaca* (1923), V. Macchioro's *Zagreus* (1920) and *Orfismo e Paolinismo* (1923), and that of Signor Turchi under review. The author is docent of the history of religions in the University of Rome, and the book is based on a course of lectures which he recently delivered there. A companion volume, *Fontes Historiae Mysteriorum* (1923), gives the Greek and Latin citations in full, which are constantly referred to in the foot-notes of the present work.

The book is divided into nine chapters. Two introductory chapters on the general concepts of the mystery religions, and on secret societies among savages, respectively, are followed by a historical and descriptive account of the chief mystery cults of the Mediterranean world which survived into the Roman Empire—those of Dionysus, the Orphics, the Eleusinians (with appendixes on those of Samothrace and Andania), Osiris, Attis and Cybele, Adonis, and Mithras—discussed in respect of their origins, interrelations, rituals, disciplines, doctrines (moral and eschatological), diffusion, and importance. An excellent bibliography follows, containing standard and recent work in Italian, French, English, and German, arranged chapter by chapter and accompanied by brief appraisals of their value. Thirteen of these books and articles have appeared since the close of the war, and seven of them since 1921, which is an evidence both of the present widespread interest in this fascinating field, and of the up-to-dateness of Signor Turchi's researches. Thus he mentions G. Glotz's article "Les Fêtes d'Adonis sous Ptolémée II." (*Revue des Études Grecques*, no. 331, 1920, pp. 142 ff.), which discusses the three-day festival of Adonis not only from the viewpoint of the *locus classicus*, the fifteenth Idyl of Theocritus, but from that of a recently published papyrus (Sir Flinders Petrie, *Papyri*, III. 242), which adds many interesting details. He rightly rejects Foucart's well-known Egyptian theories of the origin of the Dionysiac and Eleusinian cults (*Le Culte de Dionysos en Attique*, 1904, and *Les Mystères d'Eleusis*, 1914), represented by the formulae Dionysus-Osiris, and Demeter-Isis. On the other hand, he accepts the solar origin of the Dionysiac cult recently revived by Carolina Lanzoni. An analytical summary of the various chapters largely supplies the lack of a general index. At the end is an outline map of the Empire showing the diffusion of these cults, along with various inserts—the region around Hadrian's wall, Britain and Northwest Gaul, the Campi Decumates, the surroundings of Rome, and Egypt. The subjects of the illustrations are mostly taken from ancient works of art.

Signor Turchi's conclusions about the origin, development, and importance of these cults are definite and authoritative and deserve a brief summary. He finds that all of them had their origin in the ethical or natural religions of antiquity because of the ethico-social need of re-

establishing the equilibrium between the political, social, and cultural experience of the group and the rigid traditional religion of the city-state, which latter only expressed the characteristics and needs of a dominant class. This equilibrium was attained in two ways: firstly, by giving to the religious and moral aspirations of the individual the expansion not to be found in the official cults, since these were concerned more with the group than with the individual, with official than with moral purity, and with the performance of rites which had proved to be advantageous to the group; secondly, by breaking down racial and social barriers which could not contain the growing ideas resulting from political and commercial development, and so guaranteeing to everyone worthy of it the legitimate satisfaction of his individual aspirations.

Sacrifice, which Signor Turchi regards as the "central act" of religion, is the platform upon which the various mystery cults developed, and this feature has been taken over from the earlier ethnic religions. The idea of sacrifice, at first magico-agrarian in character and intended merely to provoke the fecundity of vegetation, was gradually metamorphosed into the symbol of the immolation of a divinity who became the exemplar of his votaries, whose death and rebirth meant their assimilation to him and the promise of salvation through initiatory rites. So it came to acquire a highly mystic and spiritual value, the guaranty of immortality. This central act is transparent in the myths and rites of every mystery cult, appearing in a most primitive form in that of Dionysus, where the assimilation was effected by the savage rite of *omophagia*, but far more advanced in the Orphic and Eleusinian cults.

He finds the importance of these cults in the fact that they gave a promise of salvation not exclusively to Greeks, Iranians, or Egyptians, to any city-state or gentile group, but to the entire Mediterranean world without social, political, or any other barrier. They became, therefore, the expression of the overthrow of the old divisional boundaries, and so a primal agent in the politico-social fusion of the ancient world, and in bringing about the more synthetic groupings of the Hellenistic epoch.

Despite the superior mystical value, the lofty doctrines, and noble practices of most of these cults, Signor Turchi shows that they also had inherent or developed defects which made it impossible for them long to outlive the advent of Christianity. Thus, they retained too much of their magico-agrarian origin, and so revealed a primitive psychology; they remained too closely attached to divinities transparently naturalistic; they were too loyal to the practices of the older ethnic religions whose rites at times were repulsive; and, lastly, were too desirous of living at peace with the traditional faiths and constituted authority. Such defects were like stones tied to their feet making it impossible for them to soar aloft with eagle flight above the horizon of ruling paganism. They could break down the old theological exclusiveness, but could not effect religious union. Moreover, their defenders in the early Christian centuries were such men as the antiquary Macrobius and

the visionary Julian, men who looked backward, lost in the worship of the past. These cults sorely lacked the genial advocacy of an Augustine.

Signor Turchi's little book, lucid and authoritative, is a noteworthy contribution to the cultural history of antiquity. It is one of the best surveys yet written of the difficult subject of the mystery cults, which were so important in shaping ancient religious thought, and which so profoundly influenced certain ceremonies—notably baptism and the Lord's Supper—of the later Christian Church.

WALTER WOODBURN HYDE.

The Social Origins of Christianity. By SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE, Professor of Early Church History and New Testament Interpretation and Chairman of the Department of Church History in the University of Chicago. (Chicago: University of Chicago. 1923. Pp. vii, 263. \$2.50.)

TEN years ago Professor Case in his *Evolution of Early Christianity* gave a learned account of the environment, religious and philosophical, which had a determining influence on the early Christian movement. In the present work, briefer and more general in treatment, he aims to present the actual social experiences and religious problems of the people who became Christian and to demonstrate that Christianity made its appeal and developed its own type by satisfying these social needs better than any local cult or Oriental mystery religion. In this enterprise he is, as he believes, approaching the subject from a new point of view.

At the outset he contrasts the old process of interpreting Christianity by the contents of the canonized, inspired, and supposedly undifferentiated New Testament with the literary historical method which, distinguishing authors and date and occasion and reading the literature in the light of the conditions of origin, developed a series of pictures in historical succession. But, following a still more recent tendency of social history, Dr. Case defines his own newest method as an attempt to depict "the history of ancient Christianity in terms of an evolving social experience in the realm of religious interests on the part of the people who constituted the new movement". He would put himself thus in the social situation of a citizen of the old empire and discover why he found Christianity satisfying and how his appropriation of it shaped Christianity itself.

This is progress along the line of social psychology and it conforms to the real task of the historian, which is to understand how the Roman Empire passed from a plurality of local polytheistic cults invaded by Oriental mystery religions that were universal church systems to the established imperial Christianity of the fourth century. Gibbon's famous fifteenth chapter explanatory of the change may suggest to us that this

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newest method is no absolute novelty in principle and doubtless in many a class-room the handling of the matter is so advanced that Dr. Case's discussion will contribute only some subtleties of detail.

The exposition suffers somewhat from its brevity and generality but even more by using forms of expression which seem to attribute to religious leaders the attitude of self-conscious sociologists. The procedure of past men had sociological effects, but a consciousness of such values did not determine their action. What historian is not impressed by a process in history unconscious to the actors involved? To one reader at least, Dr. Case seems to force on the artless and instinctive process of life the deliberate and reflective attitude of the social theorist, and this impression of artificiality is abetted by his use of technicalities like "social control", popular in some class-rooms but foreign to the people whose religious evolution we are explaining. The precipitation of defining Christian standards at the end of the second century—creed, canon, episcopate—is handled as if the leaders had sat at a council board for the purpose. It is surely forcing matters a good deal to speak of Mark's philosophy of history (p. 185), and one shakes his head at the notion that Constantine established Christianity on reflecting that it was less expensive to the state than paganism.

The reader will have his reservations and he may think that "social" is an overworked word, but he will nevertheless be edified and stimulated by this interesting discussion.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Irresistible Movement of Democracy. By JOHN SIMPSON PENMAN. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1923. Pp. xii, 729. \$5.00.)

USING the term "democracy", as it is employed by Maine, Lecky, and Bryce, in a strictly political sense, *i.e.*, as denoting a form or plan of government, Mr. Penman undertakes in this book to tell the story of democratic development from "its first beginnings in the modern world until its culmination in our time". The volume is arranged in three parts. The first, consisting of eight chapters, is devoted to the United States; the second, in eleven chapters, to France; the third, in ten chapters, to England. The order of treatment is strictly chronological, and the matters discussed are principally the political views of public men, the course and results of revolutions and other political movements, party programmes and their political implications, written constitutions as instruments of democratic government, the international repercussions of democratic impulses and achievements, and the economic backgrounds of modern democratic government.

Mr. Penman's acquaintance with the literature of his huge subject, as indicated by his foot-notes and less direct allusions, seems adequate, and his narrative flows smoothly along conventional lines, most of the time challenging little or no positive criticism. He is, however, occasionally in error, as, for example, when he asserts (p. 690), speaking of the rejection by the House of Lords of the Finance Bill of 1909, that no finance bill had been vetoed by the second chamber "for two hundred years", and that it had "come to be the established custom of the country that the House of Lords had no power to reject a financial bill". The facts, of course, are, first, that the House of Lords threw out a finance bill in 1860 (the Paper Duties Bill) and, second, that the right of the chamber to take such action, although rarely exercised, was not disputed until that date.

Certain more fundamental strictures, however, must be made. In the first place, the author's somewhat rhetorical title suggests a more comprehensive treatment of his subject than he has actually undertaken. Waiving the question of whether the democratic advance has been quite so "irresistible" as he supposes, it would seem that the experience of the Italian, Swiss, and Dutch republics ought not to be entirely omitted from the story as having "contributed little to the democratic movement", that some account ought to have been taken of the transplanting of democratic institutions into Canada, Australia, and other overseas British dominions, and that the emergence of more than a score of new popular governments in central Europe ought somehow to have got into the picture. In the second place, there is no indication of the tremendous struggle that is going on at this moment in various parts of the world—in Russia, in China, in India—for the erection of governmental systems that can fairly be called democratic. If the movement has been irresistible in America, France, and England, what of it in these great lands? Nobody knows. Yet it is a somewhat visionless treatment of the author's ambitious and dynamic subject that does not at least bring these world situations within the horizon. Finally, although the possible effects of a socialistic Labor régime upon English democracy are interestingly considered, the "unwarranted assumption", as Lord Bryce termed it, that democracy is the final form of government runs throughout the volume. Doubtless Mr. Penman considers himself an historian rather than a prophet. In a book of this kind, however, one might reasonably expect to find a larger philosophical evaluation of the elements of stability and mutability in man's political life.

All of this is simply to say that if Mr. Penman had entitled his work "The Rise and Growth of Democratic Government in England, France, and America", it would have been set down as a very successful and useful piece of historical writing.

FREDERIC A. OGG.

Medieval English Nunneries, c. 1275 to 1535. By EILEEN POWER, sometime Fellow and Lecturer of Girton College, Cambridge. [Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought.] (Cambridge: University Press. 1922. Pp. xv, 724. 35 s.)

MISS POWER's purpose is to "give a general picture of English nunnery life" in houses of every order except the Gilbertine, during the "three centuries before the Dissolution". Her chief sources, mainly in print but partly in manuscript, are episcopal registers and visitations, account rolls, cartularies, inventories, and wills; also contemporary literature, Continental as well as English. Miss Power's investigation is not exhaustive, notably in the dioceses (other than Lincoln) where few registers are in print. She has omitted the abstracts of Ely registers, 1337-1392, in the *Ely Diocesan Remembrancer*, and the *Carlisle Register*, 1292-1324, printed by the Canterbury and York Society. Certain non-ecclesiastical records have been neglected; for example, court rolls in the Public Record Office such as those of the abbess of Syon. But she has used an exceptionally wide range of material, much of it previously unexplored, and has made a valuable contribution to scholarship. At the same time, with her keen sense of humor and delightful style she has created an extraordinarily vivid and entertaining picture.

On various important questions Miss Power's conclusions are definite: the nuns came "from the upper and upper-middle classes"; the nunnery was a "career, a vocation, a prison, a refuge"; the youth of many novices meant that "free choice" had not been exercised; a "dowry" was as essential to a nun as to a bride. The Benedictine ideals of labor and study were absent; the nuns had servants, their own feminine accomplishments were not remarkable, their book learning extremely meagre. Although about two-thirds of the nunneries received a few well-to-do children to educate, the practice was tolerated by the Church only as a financial expedient. But it is not without significance that by 1922 Miss Power through her own further research discovered "seven or eight children" at St. Michael's Stamford (p. 265), whereas in 1913 she had found "no trace of school girls" there (according to Mr. Coulton, *Monastic Schools in the Middle Ages*, 1913, p. 7).

Familiar problems of communal life appear in the constant endeavor to keep the nuns from the world and the world from the nuns. Friction between nuns and their superiors shows the eternal revolt of youth against age and autocracy: "What, shulde the yong nunnes gyve voices? Tushe, they shulde not gyve voices!" (P. 46.) In describing the financial straits of nunneries and the incompetence of many nuns as business managers, Miss Power has not given due emphasis to contemporary economic changes. The disappearance of villein services and the rise in wages were causing widespread difficulties in agriculture and were leading many manorial lords to convert arable into pasture.

On the breaking of the vow of chastity by nuns, prioresses, and abbesses, Miss Power presents abundant evidence. Although she recognizes that it is derived from documents meant to record failings, not virtues (pp. 473, 497), and although she states that the "majority of nuns" kept their vow, yet the impression left on one's mind is of an all-pervading immorality in nunneries. To make the "general picture" absolutely complete more space needs to be given to the devout nuns—those reported by an "omnia bene". But the material is harder to find and harder to interpret. It is easier to describe recalcitrant nuns who hurl the copy of the bull *Periculoso* at the retreating bishop (p. 352).

I have noticed a few slips: page 53, "rage" for age; page 259, note 2, "occasionally"; page 284, "fourteenth" for sixteenth; page 308, note 2, "Baretius" for Boretius. A bishop of Lincoln appears variously as Bokyngham and Buckingham, sometimes on the same page, e.g., page 583 and note 4, and is indexed only under Buckingham. The references to Langland seem to ignore recent theories on the authorship of *Piers Plowman*.

BERTHA HAVEN PUTNAM.

Acta Concilii Constanciensis. Zweiter Band. *Konzilstagebücher, Sermones, Reform- und Verfassungsakten*. Herausgegeben in Verbindung mit JOHANNES HOLLNSTEINER von HEINRICH FINKE. (Münster i. W.: Regensburg. 1923. Pp. vi, 770. \$6.75.)

STUDENTS of the conciliar movement of the fifteenth century will welcome with great interest the long-delayed appearance of this second volume of Heinrich Finke's *Acta Concilii Constanciensis*. The preface to the first volume, published in 1896, begins with these words: "The present volume precedes the Collection of Sources for the Council of Constance, which is to appear within one year." The one year has grown to twenty-seven, a delay for which the editor makes a rather lame apology. The fact appears to be that he was diverted from this work by other occupations only indirectly contributory to it. The long interval has, however, had the result that the mass of material has considerably increased. It has in fact become too great for this volume, and we are now promised a third, the printing of which is to begin "very soon". The general introduction promised for the second is also postponed to the third volume. Let us hope that these new promises will be better fulfilled than the earlier ones.

The matter here presented is divided under three heads: diaries, sermons, and "reform", including questions of church organization and the forms of procedure at the Council. Each group is preceded by an introduction giving a brief account of manuscripts consulted, previous editions, and principles of editing. In general, documentary material is reproduced here only when it is not to be found in other collections, as, e.g., in those of von der Hardt, Mansi, and Martène and Durand.

In the group of diaries the first place is given to the *Gesta Concilii Constanciensis* of Cardinal Fillastre, one of the most important actors in the drama of schism and reunion. His record, written down, not every day, but at frequent intervals, gives a continuous view of the great struggle from the earliest union negotiations to the close of the assembly at Constance. Fillastre is much more than a diarist. He is a man of letters, a churchman of the highest rank, a French patriot, and, in the best sense, a reformer. It is to be regretted that the necessary omission of already published documents interferes with the pleasure one might otherwise derive from reading this straightforward narrative of one of the most dramatic moments of European history.

The second in the group of diaries is the *Liber Gestorum* of Jakobus Cerretanus, a papal official who brought together every variety of detail, important and unimportant, documents, letters, reports, and what not, constantly encumbered with the verbose servilities of a place-holder toward his superiors. In this edition no attempt has been made to untangle the thread of the narration, but brief foot-notes help one to avoid repetitions and supply a certain degree of continuity. The *Acta Concilii* of William de la Tour, archdeacon of Clermont, supplement these two fuller records with some detail, but are of minor importance. The three diaries occupy nearly one-half of the volume.

Next follows the section *Sermones*, a word covering a considerable variety of public addresses and used often interchangeably with *collatio* or *oratio*. Finke has identified some two hundred actual sermons and about one hundred other addresses delivered at Constance during the four years of the Council. They took place ordinarily on Sundays or other holidays and often upon occasion of the reception of eminent persons, ambassadors or princes, deputies of cities, etc. Numerous collections of them were made at an early date, almost all of these in Germany, a significant indication of the greater interest of Germans in the idealistic, as contrasted with the political, objects of the Council. The preachers were the most eminent among the visitors at Constance: Popes John and Martin, Cardinals D'Ailly, Zabarella, Dominici, and Fillastre, Bishop Hallam of Salisbury, heads of monastic orders, and such a representative scholar as Jean Gerson of Paris. Finke believes that in general the original copies of these addresses were furnished by the speakers to one or more scribes who multiplied them and distributed them rapidly. In many cases, however, the orator was obliged to speak *ex tempore*, and this may explain the "countless" instances of errors obviously due to incorrect hearing. The editor's present contribution is a complete register of the sermons with a reference in each case to the manuscript or printed source, together with such selections from the text as seemed significant or novel. Admitting that a very large part of their contents is purely conventional, fulsome flattery of the great, or empty philosophizing, he reminds us of their great value as history due to the glimpses they afford of leading personalities and of

the basic principles for which the fathers at Constance were contending. "The *sermones*", he says, "form the most vital group of the sources for the Council."

The third section is devoted to matters of reform and organization and is subdivided under the headings: reform tracts, reports of the reform commissions, and the relations of the papacy to the Council. Historically speaking, these are by far the most important topics with which the councils of the fifteenth century had to deal. They touch upon the fundamental questions as to the nature of the Church and the relative value of its several organs of expression. The documents here produced reveal, as nothing else can, the amazing freedom with which the most radical propositions were brought forward and openly discussed. Finke makes an especial point of the experimental character of many of the reform propositions and their gradual development into formal shape for presentation to the general sessions of the Council.

A brief chapter on the problems of procedure within the assembly itself is of especial interest to students of early parliamentary history, for here are shown in outline the same conflicts of interest that are busying the lineal successor of the Council of Constance, the League of Nations at Geneva. The volume closes with five letters on reformatory topics by different writers throwing interesting side-lights upon various problems of the reforming party.

EPHRAIM EMERTON.

The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth, King of England and of France and Lord of Ireland. By CORA L. SCOFIELD, Ph.D. In two volumes. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1923. Pp. x, 595; iii, 526. £2. 12 s. 6 d.)

WYLIE, Beaucourt, and Delachenal have established the precedent for treating the late medieval reigns in an exhaustive fashion, and these two volumes may very properly be placed beside the works of those three scholars. The reader of Dr. Scofield's book is conscious throughout of the author's careful, long-continued research in the London and Paris archives, bringing to light the details of English and French political life during some three decades and combining them into a straightforward chronicle. The result might well bear the subtitle "A Study in Fifteenth-Century Diplomacy", for the emphasis is upon international relations. Here is a tale much occupied with the goings and comings of embassies, frequent grantings and regrantings of safe-conducts, and a most bewildering number of marriage proposals, not surprising perhaps when we recall that Edward had seven daughters. Inasmuch as in many respects we look to the fifteenth century for the beginnings of modern diplomacy, so complete a presentation of a long period of negotiation is certainly a notable contribution. The author has skillfully untangled a series of complicated diplomatic activities involving France, Burgundy,

Brittany, Scotland, Castile, Aragon, and the pope, and that too in relation to an English dynastic struggle and a French civil war. Incidentally, relations with other countries are not neglected, while the difficulties with the Hanseatic League form a highly diverting interlude. In connection with all this, twelve documents chiefly relating to France and Burgundy appear as appendixes. Despite the complexity of the negotiations it is not difficult to follow the principal lines of policy in each state. The author is chary about passing judgment on events, preferring to permit the sources to tell their own story, but in the end she concludes that Edward's policy was "impossible because . . . it was conceived in opposition to his peoples' wishes and best interests".

So detailed a study at times becomes tinged with antiquarianism. The question of the exact moment of Edward's birth opens the narrative, a description of the costumes worn at his funeral closes it, while at intervals between the reader learns of all the gifts given to ambassadors, with due record of the cost (evidently not unimportant details of fifteenth-century diplomacy), the number of oxen which Warwick's household ate for breakfast, the manner of Queen Elizabeth Woodville's churching, and the like. A papal dispensation in regard to the royal diet forms a final appendix. This same thoroughness of presentation leads to the use of a confusing number of names, reminiscent at times of the stage directions for one of Shakespeare's historical plays. This is, of course, unavoidable, but a genealogical table would have been helpful in keeping clear some of the complicated relationships. Singularly enough, in a work filled with names, very few personalities are to be found. Although Warwick is the dominant figure of the first volume, one never gets any idea of what manner of man he was. Even Margaret of Anjou remains little more than a name. Louis XI., who dominates the second volume, is somewhat less shadowy. Edward himself, in the course of the narrative, does crystallize into a recognizable type of English prince, a good-looking, well-dressed, sporting man, energetic and well-meaning in youth, easy-going and self-indulgent in manhood, affable and popular, frank, thoughtless, and not too clever. English history has known many like him. Dr. Scofield does not make a hero of him, nor of any other person, but she does clear him of the suspicion that he basely defrauded the staplers at Calais of the money which they loaned him during his struggle for the crown, declares it improbable that he and his brothers killed Edward of Lancaster after the battle of Tewkesbury, doubts the justice of the charge that he abused his regalian rights over vacant bishoprics, and acquits him of double-dealing in his negotiations with Scotland in 1479. His capabilities for double-dealing in diplomacy, however, are set forth in other instances.

In a way the author has written a commentary on the futility of politics, for, after devoting a volume to the marches, battles, and beheadings which make up the struggle between Lancaster and York, she admits that the civil war was "curiously superficial", leaving the life

of the people relatively normal. Possibly the economic historian must be asked to attempt some explanation for the persistent popular restlessness. Then, after devoting most of a second volume to the fluctuations of foreign policy, she admits that it was a failure, and it is quite obvious that a policy which clung to the idea of English dominion in France was merely an epilogue to the Hundred Years' War. This volume is an important contribution to scholarship rather as a phase of the history of Louis XI. than as a chapter in English history. In recognition of the forward-looking features of Edward's reign there are three concluding chapters on the king as a politician, a business man, and a patron of art and letters. Here we can see the preliminaries of the Tudor period. But the impression which these leave is probably historically correct, namely, that fifteenth-century Englishmen were more interested in questions of war, office-holding, and Flemish trade than in constitutional and intellectual developments.

RICHARD A. NEWHALL.

The Principal Secretary of State: a Survey of the Office from 1558 to 1680. By FLORENCE M. GREIR EVANS, M.A., Ph.D. (Mrs. C. S. S. Higham). [Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series, no. XLIII.] (Manchester: University Press; London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1923. Pp. v, 392. 30 s.)

NICHOLAS FAUNT, one of Sir Francis Walsingham's clerks, writing in 1592, remarked that the office of Principal Secretary was an extremely hard one to define, and his contemporary Sir Robert Cecil in a short essay on the same subject agreed with him. Mrs. Higham's monograph confirms the opinion of the Elizabethans. During the period of time to which she has confined herself the Principal Secretary's interests and activities were almost as wide as those of the king himself. He was deeply engaged not only in every executive department of the government, but in the legislative and even in the judicial department as well. Practically the whole administrative business of the crown passed through his hands. He was the most energetic and perhaps the most stable element in the Privy Council. He was the focal point of foreign policy. He was, or by the seventeenth century had come to be, the mouthpiece of the crown in the House of Commons. He combined in fact in his own person not only many of the functions of the modern prime minister, but also many of those associated to-day with the Foreign Office, the Home Office, the War Office, and the Admiralty, to say nothing of the Colonial Office, the India Office, and Ireland.

Mrs. Higham advances the theory that the period under consideration marks his progress from the position of a royal amanuensis to that of head of a great department of state. This is no doubt true, and yet the great secretaries and the most influential ones come at the beginning

and not at the end of this development. Unless it be Thurloe there is no secretary of the seventeenth century to be compared in public importance with Thomas Cromwell, William Cecil, or Francis Walsingham. There is considerable truth in the statement that in proportion as the functions of the office became defined the officer himself lost power and importance. Yet first to last its significance varied so much with the character of the man who occupied it that no adequate history of the office can be written before we have adequate biographies of its incumbents, and these, with one or two exceptions, we still lack. Mrs. Higham has realized this fact at the outset. The first half of her monograph is devoted to a running account of the careers of the different secretaries in so far as their activities in office are concerned. This account is inevitably brief and imperfect, but it had to be attempted, and, considering the great mass of material available on the subject in manuscript and the small amount available in digested form in print, the performance is really remarkable.

After her general survey of the personal history of the office she has undertaken in the second half of her monograph to generalize about it in chapters on the organization of the office itself, on its relation to the Signet Office, on the Secretary in Council and in Parliament, on his contacts with domestic affairs, with foreign affairs, with Ireland, with the colonies, and so forth. It can readily be perceived that an adequate treatment of any one of these topics would involve many volumes and a lifetime of labor, and even then it might be doubted whether many generalizations could safely be made. In these later chapters Mrs. Higham tends to fall into the very pit she has posted with warnings in her introduction. She has tended to attach to the office attributes which really varied even in essentials with every incumbent of it. But she would be the last person to claim for her conclusions any definitive character. It is enough that she has staked out a good working trail through a veritable wilderness of pertinent data.

All things considered, she has done an amazingly able piece of work and one which deserves the careful consideration of every serious student of English political institutions.

CONYERS READ.

Strafford and Ireland: the History of his Vice-Royalty with an Account of his Trial. By HUGH O'GRADY, Litt.D. In two volumes. (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, and Company. 1923. Pp. xvi, 592; 593-1142. £3.10 s.)

WE should like to be able to praise this book. It shows evidence of much research, and its theme is a fascinating one. Unfortunately, truth compels the judgment that it is neither impartial, accurate, nor clear.

The author's main object seems to be to exalt Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, especially as regards his Irish viceroyalty; to show

how just and how able a ruler was he whom "orthodox history" has branded as a cruel tyrant. Now "orthodox history", we submit, has long since set forth the merits of Strafford's administration of Ireland, and for his development of her trade, his repression of the army disorders, his punishment of the peculations of the Castle officials, has given him due praise. The particulars which this book furnishes on such points are of the greatest interest and importance. Unfortunately, Mr. O'Grady has not confined himself to laudation of the laudable. He extols directly or inferentially, certainly nowhere condemns, the most unjust and tyrannical actions of his hero, such as the bribery of the Commissioners of Defective Titles; the browbeating of the Roscommon jury, and the fining of the members of the Galway one, who "obstinately" refused to find a verdict for the crown. Edmund Burke has said that the advocates of departed tyrannies are few, but of these few our author may certainly claim to be one.

This work comprises over eleven hundred pages. Its bulk might be reduced by at least a third, and the narrative would gain in clearness, if its professed subject were adhered to, and we were not constantly transported either back to the Reformation or forward to the days of the Confederation of Kilkenny. Even within the limits of a single paragraph, we are sometimes required to make disconcerting leaps. An example may be given: "Cardinal Rinnucini, in 1644, angrily described him [De Burgo] as being 'hot headed' This was because De Burgo had preached a Holy War against what Rinnucini used to call 'the Pope's troops'. According to Dr. Meehan Strafford immediately served him with a writ for exercising 'foreign jurisdiction'" (p. 614). Here we start in 1644, go on to some year evidently subsequent to 1645, and finally return to, at latest, 1641, the date of Strafford's execution. It may be further remarked that Archbishop *Rinuccini* was not a cardinal; that he did not come to Ireland till 1645; and that he greatly objected to the soldiers of the Catholic Confederation being styled the pope's troops (*Embassy*, p. 283).

More grave than such errors as these are the misstatements regarding the early Irish Church, the Plantations, the attitude of the Irish towards the Reformation and kindred matters, with which this book abounds. Mr. O'Grady does not like the native Irish, nor their church, nor their customs, nor their chiefs, nor anything that is theirs. But this scarcely constitutes an excuse. Least pardonable of all are his misquotations, or what are virtually such. Sometimes he wrests a statement from its context, so as to alter its force. When Strafford complains that the Irish Parliament (1634), sulking because of the refusal of certain "graces", rejected every bill presented to it, and gives a list of such bills, including one against bigamy, Mr. O'Grady declares, "Monogamy among the Irish aristocracy was quite a new idea. The Bill allowing one wife and only one was rejected by the Irish House of Commons" (p. 593). Again, he applies what is said about one thing to

something else. So Rinuccini's stricture on the Anglo-Irish party in the Confederation, that they were "Catholic only in name" (*Embassy*, p. 436), is made to apply to the whole Catholic Confederation, although the archbishop was actually, at the time, contrasting the merits of the "Old Irish party" with the deficiencies of the others. Here too the words themselves are altered. What Rinuccini says is: "It may be therefore by the will of God that a people Catholic only in name . . . should feel the thunderbolt of the Holy See". Our author quotes (?), "It may be, therefore, by the will of God that they are a people Catholic only in name" (p. 714); thus ascribing to the archbishop most heretical views. What is one to say of such a method of writing history?

The style of the book is not pleasing; curious phrases and unusual words appear again and again, till one is weary of them; so do scraps of Latin; "odium theologicum" is a special favorite. The carelessness shown in the proof-reading is disgraceful; no ten consecutive pages are free from several examples of bad spelling, misplaced letters, and the like.

M. T. H.

The English Factories in India, 1661-64. By WILLIAM FOSTER, C. I. E. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1923. Pp. v, 428. 18 s.)
Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations relating to Bombay, 1660-1677. By SHAFAT AHMAD KHAN, Litt.D., F. R. Hist. S., University Professor of History, Allahabad. [Allahabad University Studies in History.] (London and Bombay: Oxford University Press. Humphrey Milford. 1922. Pp. v, 419-574.)

THESE two books are rich in documents for the history of the British in India during the early years of the Restoration in England. They, therefore, deal with the complications which surround the cession of Bombay by the Portuguese to the English. In addition, the regular records of the English factories in India are heavily drawn on by Mr. Foster for his chronicle of events. As in the previous volume of these records, the abundance of material has compelled a change of method from that followed in the volumes dealing with the period from 1618 to 1654.

The earlier years were covered by a collection of documents printed *in extenso*, which in successive volumes were illuminated and enlivened by masterly introductory essays by Mr. Foster. Beginning with 1655, however, the policy has been followed of omitting the introduction and conducting the narrative by means of excerpts from the original despatches which are skillfully woven into a record by Mr. Foster. The result is disappointing in that we miss the admirable introductions; but it is also satisfactory in that the materials are better grouped and arranged. Thus in succession there are sections dealing with Surat, Bombay, the Malabar coast, the Coromandel coast, Madras, Bengal, and other places as well.

The volume by Professor Shafaat Ahmad Khan is composed almost solidly of documents, with here and there a little commentary by the author. The arrangement could have been made clearer in the text or an introductory essay could have acted as a guide to the reader. As it is, we are plunged almost at once into the tangled history of the period as revealed by documents, some of which at times do not seem to be closely related to each other. The entire book is without chapter or subdivisions, though a table of contents is of assistance. It is a reprint of material which first appeared in the *Journal of Indian History*, series 3, number 3. As such, numerous errata are noted by inserted slips; and the writer speaks of the possibility of a second edition. The work as a whole is apparently a by-product of the author's *East India Trade in the XVIIth Century*, which the Clarendon Press is bringing out. The documents are of undoubted value and are for the most part from the Public Record Office, C. O. 77.

The temptation is of course to indicate by quotations here and there the character and scope of the material included in both volumes. That is impossible at present; but after comment on some of the varied topics included in Mr. Foster's volume it may be convenient to note the way in which the two books supplement each other with reference to the early history of Bombay.

Selecting almost at random, we find in Mr. Foster's book topics such as the following: materials for the lives of Matthew Andrews, president at Surat till, because of disputes with the East India Company, he was ordered home; of Sir George Oxenden, his energetic and gallant successor; of Sir Abraham Shipman, the first unfortunate British governor of Bombay; of Jonathan Trevisa, whose "factory in the Bay [of Bengal] is very distractedly managed" and who was finally dismissed by the company; and of Sir Edward Winter, the arrogant and quarrelsome agent at Fort St. George, Madras. As to relations with the native authorities there is a full account of Sivaji's raid on Surat in 1664 and the efficient defense of the factory by Oxenden. This promoted good terms from Aurangzeb, who in gratitude remitted the customs duties for a year to the English merchants. There is in addition a mass of information as to trade and frequent mention of the continued rivalry with the Dutch.

As to Bombay Mr. Foster points out that the East India Company had not pressed Charles II. to acquire Bombay and that in 1667, when the island was taken over from the crown by the company, the directors said "that, if the Portugalls had offered them this island before His Majestie was possessed thereof, the Companie would not have accepted it". Both Bombay and Tangier were offered by the Portuguese as attractive bait in connection with the treaty of 1661 with Charles II. which led to the marriage with Catherine of Braganza. The cession of Bombay, however, did not meet with the approval of Portuguese authorities in India. There followed a tedious correspondence as the viceroy refused to surrender the town to the Earl of Marlborough, who arrived with an English

fleet. This correspondence is to be found in the volume on Bombay, where it is noted that English opinion as to the bargain was voiced by Pepys, to the effect that the "Portuguese have choused us in the island of Bombay". Finally, at the beginning of 1665, the transfer was completed.

The disappointment as to the island was also noted by a despatch of December, 1665, which protested that "this Island is hither to but a meere Fishing place, and as yett no merchant of quallity nor any one else is come to settle hêere". Consequently the plan is proposed that Surat be abandoned and that the headquarters of the company on the western coast of India should be transferred to Bombay. Further disputes regarding duties, taxes, the surrender of more territory by the Portuguese, and the interpretation of the treaty drag on till 1677. For these the author has had recourse in part to the Court Book of the company in London which has not as yet been calendared by Mr. Foster.

Throughout these years there is the ever present English jealousy of the Dutch, which resulted in the seizure of New Netherland in 1664. Thus New York became British territory at the same time that in the East Indies the Dutch were threatening English trade and seemed likely to assume a complete monopoly of the spice trade.

ALFRED L. P. DENNIS.

The Dutch Alliance and the War against French Trade, 1688-1697.

By G. N. CLARK. [Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series, no. XLII.] (Manchester: University Press; London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1923. Pp. xi, 160. 12 s. 6 d.)

MR. CLARK'S very careful and thoughtful investigation of the English and Dutch attempt to suppress trade with France during King William's War should be of interest to many students of political and economic history, and of international law; for he not merely brings forward new facts from Dutch and English manuscripts, pamphlets, and other sources, but interprets these facts in a way calculated to throw light on similar sequences of events occurring at other periods of time. His method is analytic; and the analytic table of contents of the volume will probably be more serviceable than a full index would have been, if it had been supplied.

The introductory chapter refutes the opinion that during King William's War—to use its American name—the English and Dutch consistently and single-heartedly pursued the aim of destroying French commerce for the advantage of their own. On the contrary, military and political interests were sometimes at variance with commercial interests. None of the states of that time "had reached a stage in which its policy could be clearly guided by either a political or an economic plan" (p. 7).

The second chapter describes the four missions sent from the United Provinces to England in 1689, and analyzes the significance of the four treaties concluded between these countries during that year. Three of these treaties dealt respectively with the union of the fleets, with alliance, and with recaptured prizes. The fourth treaty, with which this volume is chiefly concerned, prohibited all powers, neutrals as well as belligerents, from engaging in trade with France, thus virtually forbidding neutrality. All vessels sailing to French ports were to be regarded as lawful prize. This treaty, it is to be noted, was not only a military measure, aimed at injuring the enemy, but also embodied England's economic policy of restricting her imports from France, while at the same time preventing the Dutch from profiting by a trade from which the English had cut themselves off.

The third very interesting chapter treats of English and Dutch privateers—"the chief instrument of the war on French commerce"—but one hard for governments to control for their own purposes, as Mr. Clark shows. Especially difficult to regulate were the privateers of Zeeland, whose admiralty, closely associated with the privateering interest, upheld it "against the shipping trade, against the neutrals, against the navy, and, in fact, against every other cause and interest whatsoever" (p. 52).

The effectiveness of the privateers may be roughly measured by statistics indicating that during the course of the war the British privateers captured 708 enemy and neutral vessels, and the admiralty court of Zeeland condemned about the same number of prizes. This in spite of the fact that most of the privateers were small vessels, most of the British being "well under a hundred tons, some of them mere cockle-shells, with armaments of anything between two and a score of pieces, while the crews varied from ten or fifteen to thirty or forty" (p. 61). The French probably lost a far greater proportion of their merchant ships than the English or Dutch, yet "these losses are none of them overwhelming".

Chapter IV. reveals the ineffectiveness of the treaty in preventing the allies—English, Dutch, Flemings, and Hansards—from trading with the enemy and it also describes the attempt to stop postal communication with France by starting a mail packet service between Falmouth and Coruña.

If it was impossible to prevent the allies from trading with the enemy, far more futile, as the fifth chapter shows, was the effort to exclude neutrals. The chief neutrals, the Swedes and Danes, wished to preserve a balance of power on the sea, and, for this reason, the Danes in particular were inclined to favor France. To vindicate their rights the two neutrals concluded treaties with each other, but their mutual suspicions precluded them from co-operating with armed forces against the allies. Yet their determined stand compelled the English and Dutch to come to an accommodation with Denmark in 1691 and with Sweden in 1693. "The

collapse of the attempts to enforce the Convention of 1689 is, however, a real landmark. No attempt to extinguish the trade of a hostile country has since been made in the same form, or rather with the same complete absence of legal form and justification. Although naval powers have more than once returned to the hope of making the same attempt in practice, they have at least accepted the necessity of doing so by the extension of rules which ostensibly admit the general right of neutrals to innocuous trade with a belligerent power" (p. 119). After a brief chapter on France's policy toward neutrals and on French privateering, there follows a conclusion wherein Mr. Clark discusses the statistical evidence available for determining the effect of the war on Dutch and British commerce, shows that it led to a relaxation of the administration of the Navigation Acts, and infers that from the point of view of the allies the war on French trade was a failure.

The volume, of which about half has previously been published in the *English Historical Review* and the *Mariner's Mirror*, contains few explicit references to America, where of course, during this period, privateering and war against the enemy's trade were vigorously carried on by both sides. A few pages are, however, devoted to an account of the negotiations in 1689 for the treaty for the co-operation of the English and Dutch fleets, when the Dutch proposed "an expedition to America, for the protection of possessions and the advancement of the interests of the two states" (p. 39). The English rejected the suggestion, and the treaty did not provide for joint naval operations outside European waters, although it stipulated that ships of the two powers should aid each other in those parts.

FRANCES G. DAVENPORT.

The Decisive Battles of Modern Times. By Lieut.-Colonel F. E. WHITTON, C. M. G., late the Prince of Wales's Leinster Regiment. (London: Constable; Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1923. Pp. vii, 259. Maps. 12 s.)

THIS volume is intended to bring Creasy's *Decisive Battles of the World* up to date. It consequently starts with the end of the Napoleonic wars. Of the wars since 1815, the author selects five as important, discusses their cause and progress, gives a narrative account of the battle considered decisive, and then states the final result.

The wars and battles considered are: American War of the Rebellion, Vicksburg; Prussian-Austrian War, Königgrätz; Franco-Prussian War, Mars-la-Tour; Russo-Japanese War, Tsushima; World War, First Battle of the Marne.

With the selection of wars there will be little criticism; but the battles represented as decisive cannot be entirely agreed to. This brings up the question, what makes a battle decisive? The author answers this on page vi, stating that "broadly speaking" it is one where "a contrary

event would have essentially varied the drama of the world in all its subsequent scenes". But on page 156 we find that "in the limited signification" a decisive battle is one that is such "as to lead directly to an early conclusion of the war". Between these two definitions the author drifts; sometimes he follows neither definition.

For example, Vicksburg has not been considered as a battle where a defeat of the Federals would have changed the subsequent drama of the world. For, supposing that the Confederates had been successful, it is hard to see that this would necessarily have had any greater effect than the earlier failures of Grant against Vicksburg had, as the Confederates were not in a position to exploit a victory had it come to them. And Vicksburg did *not* lead to an early conclusion of the war. On the other hand, had Lee gained the battle of Gettysburg, he might have marched on Washington and dictated terms of peace. For this reason Gettysburg is usually considered the decisive battle of the War of the Rebellion.

Under neither definition of the author is Mars-la-Tour a decisive battle. Here only a small fraction of the German army was engaged, and the battle did not prevent the French army about Metz from marching away to try the fortunes of war on another occasion. That the French did not do this was the result of poor leadership, not of Mars-la-Tour. What ultimately led to the end of this war was the loss of the French army at Sedan, which event was not directly connected with Mars-la-Tour.

Whether the battle of the Marne in 1914 was *the* decisive battle of the World War it is too early to say. It may have been decisive as to the campaign in France in 1914, but it is not yet clear that it was decisive as to the whole war. More time and study are needed to determine this.

Colonel Whitton's book is written in clear narrative style. References and bibliography are not given; neither is the book critical. Strengths of forces are habitually omitted; one side is generally treated in more detail than the other. Many statements are indefinite, others carelessly written, some incorrect. For example, on page 36 "Pemberton's command" is mentioned without stating what this was. On pages 44 and 45 Johnston is stated to have "sent a telegram to Washington, advising the authorities not to expect favourable news", when Richmond was seemingly meant. The German directive stated on page 223 as issued August 28, 1914, is from its contents apparently the one issued August 27, and that stated on page 227 as issued September 3 the one issued September 2.

As a whole this volume is of no value to an historical student and of only slight value to the general reader.

CONRAD H. LANZA.

Manin and the Venetian Revolution of 1848. By GEORGE MACAULAY TREVELYAN, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1923. Pp. xvi, 284. Maps. 12 s. 6 d.)

THIS study is valuable for the Anglo-Saxon public which desires to know something of the character and the making of modern Italy; it is charmingly written and reflects well the earnest and heroic spirit of the time, but it is not great history; its investigation of primary sources is in no sense exhaustive and its contribution of fresh evidence is very slight. Though the list of manuscripts in the author's bibliography is considerable, the more important unpublished documents cited had been previously used by other writers.

With regard to England's attitude toward the Italian revolution Trevelyan gives in Appendix I. a few extracts from unpublished despatches of Clinton Dawkins, English consul-general in Venice, to the British Foreign Office. In the collection of British *Blue Books* Dawkins's despatches had been published through March, 1849. Trevelyan's extracts date from May to August, 1849; their chief content is an account of Dawkins's efforts to discourage Manin in captaining Venetian resistance against Austria and to induce him to immediate surrender; their effect to-day is that of increasing our admiration of Manin's patriotism and tenacity: "I cannot surrender—I cannot surrender—I cannot trust the Austrians—I am here to resist." The great Venetian leader understood that this envoy of England, one of the two Great Powers in the possibility of whose intervention he still placed a forlorn hope, was openly against him, yet he remained unperturbed, and unshaken in his resolve to resist. Trevelyan declares frankly that Dawkins was Austrophil, but adds justly that in this he was not in accord with Lord Palmerston.

In June, 1848, before the collapse of the Piedmontese campaign against Austria, the Piedmontese and Venetian fleets were riding outside the harbor of Trieste, blockading the Austrian squadron. Trevelyan states, arguing from published sources, that a potent reason for their failure to attack the enemy was that there was much British shipping in the port and a British fleet outside. "Diplomatic pressure was brought at Turin by Great Britain and by the German Confederation to deprecate any interruption of the commerce or any injury to the city of Trieste" (p. 200). It is interesting to note in this connection that twelve years later, when Garibaldi's expedition was landing at Marsala, British ships were in the harbor, having been sent for the protection of British wine-stores and British citizens, and as Trevelyan pointed out in an earlier volume, *Garibaldi and the Thousand* (p. 237), their presence influenced the commander of the Neapolitan ships to delay bombardment, thereby enabling the Thousand to disembark and march away in safety. Both at Trieste and at Marsala British commerce figured in

the British mind *über alles*, in the first case prejudicial to success of the revolution for Italian independence, and in the second working to its advantage. But there can be no question that, barring this supreme commercial consideration, British sympathy was generally for fair play and the ascendancy of liberal institutions—provided always that the power of the Austrian Empire were not undermined.

Trevelyan shows a fine understanding of Manin's noble character, but glosses over his weaker side, namely, his personal ambition and vanity; furthermore, in the treatment of some phases and episodes of the revolution he gives him a rôle dominating too exclusively the stage of events. Thus the important collaboration of Nicolò Tommaseo is not brought out strongly enough, and Manin's part in "capturing" the arsenal of Venice is exaggerated. In other words, historical accuracy is sometimes sacrificed in order to secure stronger dramatic effect.

Trevelyan's lack of full historical preparation is shown in such mistakes as the following (p. 21): "It was only in the higher branches of teaching that the jealousy of the Austrian government was aroused" in Lombardy and Venetia. In this connection Rosina Cicchitti's *Nel Cinquantenario della Liberazione di Milano*, published in 1909, may profitably be consulted upon Austrian suppression of schools for the poor.

Vincenzo Marchesi's *Storia Documentata della Rivoluzione e della Difesa di Venezia negli anni 1848-1849*, which was published in 1916, and is the best work on the Venetian revolution, contains a rich bibliography, from which, however, many important publications were omitted. Unfortunately Trevelyan has done little to complete this; and it is surprising that the latter appears not to have heard of Alberto Dallolio's important volume, published in 1919, *La Difesa di Venezia nel 1848*. Trevelyan's brief descriptions of some of the more valuable works cited in his own bibliography are useful and generally accurate, but Edmund Flagg, who wrote *Venice, the City of the Sea*, was not "resident in Venice during 1848-1849", but obtained the materials for his two volumes after the fall of the city; his work is, therefore, not a primary source.

H. NELSON GAY.

The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy, 1783-1919.
Edited by Sir A. W. WARD, Litt.D., F.B.A., and G. P. GOOCH,
M.A., Litt.D. In three volumes. Volume III., 1866-1919.
(Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Com-
pany. 1923. Pp. xix, 664. 31 s. 6 d.)

IN this third and concluding volume, bringing the review of British foreign policy to 1920, there is relatively little attention given to British-American relations or to American influence upon the great struggle slowly developing in Europe. In chapter I. on Neutrality, Lord Granville is erroneously credited with having "taken the leading part" in

defeating the Palmerston-Russell plan, in 1862, of intervening in the American Civil War (p. 28). In volume II., page 512, Cornwall Lewis is correctly given the credit. The *Alabama* Claims and the Geneva Award are given excellent treatment, both in the narrative of events and in a simple yet exact analysis of international law. The "secret" manoeuvres of both governments to ease the situation while yet standing somewhat stiffly before the public, first narrated in Wolf's *Life of the First Lord Ripon*, are here recounted and may, therefore, now be expected to find a place in general histories. One element in the situation is strangely omitted—that of the Fenian raids into Canada; yet these had unquestioned influence both in bringing on the negotiations and in determining the conditions and terms of the Treaty of Washington. But the author succinctly states the British position lying behind the controversy when he writes: "For British statesmen, the problem, when stripped of all its passions and conflicting sympathies, was a problem of sea-policy."

The *Alabama* Claims are given one whole section of chapter I.—a larger space than for all other references to America combined. The account of the friction aroused by Secretary of State Olney in regard to Venezuela does not make clear Olney's "extension" of the Monroe Doctrine, nor the objections of South American states to it. The Behring Sea fishery and Alaska Boundary disputes are dismissed in two paragraphs. The Panama Canal Treaties (1899-1902) are covered in less than two pages. The treatment, unless reference is made back to volume II., chapter VI., would leave the impression that the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 contained all those restrictions as to British rights on the Mosquito Coast, etc., which were matters of such serious controversy until 1859. No foot-note reference is made to the previous volume and the reader may easily be misled, while the abrupt dropping of the story with the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of November, 1901, necessarily excludes any mention of the later disputes as to canal tolls which were much more influential in British-American relations than the treaty itself. This, at least, would be the American view. In various places a few sentences state the British attitude on the Spanish-American War and note the cordial relations ensuing between America and Great Britain. This was but a carrying-out of British *policy*, and since the incidents connected with it were of no great moment the lack of larger comment is perhaps excusable. Yet the work, according to its editors, is devoted to an examination, primarily, of "policy", and even from the British angle the success of a policy of determined friendship to America, finally reaping its reward during the Spanish-American War, might seem to have merited more attention, however minute the incidents. Certainly the American historical student will say that that war was a great determining influence on the American attitude toward England, not lacking supreme importance to Great Britain herself in the Great War. It is interesting that nearly at the same time Chamberlain, colonial secretary, in the famous conference with Count von Bülow at Windsor, should

have proposed a triple alliance between Great Britain, Germany, and the United States (pp. 277-278).

In the great game of European intrigue and diplomacy leading up to the Great War, the position of America receives, and merits, but scant notice. The frictions while America remained neutral are treated lightly and to the British view, it is stated, "the loss of a hundred American lives in the *Lusitania* relieved the British government of all fear of a break with Washington" (p. 513). The history of British diplomacy during the war, written by one of the editors, Dr. G. P. Gooch, is a masterly presentation of that which is now generally known and with indication of the author's personal contact with men then in power, but without pretense to any comprehensive examination of other than printed evidence, whether in documents or in books. The charm of Mr. Gooch's narrative is in its simplicity, clarity, and judicial pose. It is eminently *fair*, whether to the Allies or to the Central Powers. Especially noteworthy is the clear statement of the shifting character of British foreign policy as the military situation shifted, as when a governmental readiness for a "negotiated peace", from January to June, 1918, was suddenly replaced by the idea of an "imposed peace", with Germany's military collapse. Neither in foot-notes nor in the bibliography is there citation of unusual sources. Indeed the bibliography on the peace negotiations contains but sixteen items, of which seven are to American works. Yet even though much research is not in evidence the reviewer believes that Mr. Gooch has made a real contribution to the history of the Great War in the judicial tone of his treatment.

The last chapter, on the Foreign Office, offers a very interesting review of men from the time of Charles James Fox to the present day, but its special value is in its delineation of the steps by which the Foreign Office has grown—its duties, organization, personnel, archives, and rules. The researcher in British diplomatic history will do well to consult this chapter, which fittingly concludes the whole work. Of that work as a whole there is much to be said in praise as offering a comprehensive treatment in brief form, well indexed for each volume (a general index would have been welcomed), of British foreign policy. Naturally there is great variation in the merits of the various contributions, those by specialists in a given field being usually, though not always, of superior value. Volume I. is better than II., and this in turn than III., merely another proof that the passage of time is a requisite in historical writing for sufficient research to weigh evidence. But there should be much praise for the undertaking of a work so generally useful, and for the careful writing of most of the contributors. Not a little pleasing to his many friends in America will be the repetition, in the preface to the concluding volume, of the editors' indebtedness to Dr. Hubert Hall, for many years Assistant Keeper of the Public Record Office.

E. D. ADAMS.

Naval Operations. By Sir JULIAN S. CORBETT. Volume III. [History of the Great War based on Official Documents, by direction of the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence.] (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1923. Pp. xiv, 470. 46 maps in separate case. Text, 21 s.; maps, 21 s.)

A MELANCHOLY interest attaches to the third volume of this great work on the fighting operations of the World War by the official naval historian, Sir Julian S. Corbett, whose hand finished the concluding chapter only a few hours before his regretted death. This is not the place for an elaborate eulogy of the author of such authoritative works as *England in the Mediterranean*, *England in the Seven Years War*, *The Campaign of Trafalgar*, and *The Successors of Drake*, but in passing it is just to pay him homage, as the foremost naval historian since Mahan.

The present volume was prepared for the press by the secretary of the British Historical Section, Lieutenant-Colonel E. Y. Daniel. It begins with a description of the general situation in May, 1915, when, the abrupt resignation of Lord Fisher as First Sea Lord of the Admiralty having started the political débâcle, the new coalition government was formed, Mr. Lloyd George becoming Minister of Munitions and Mr. Balfour taking the place of Mr. Churchill as First Lord of the Admiralty, with Admiral Sir Henry Jackson as First Sea Lord in place of the dynamic Fisher. It covers in great detail the increasingly threatening submarine campaign; the rest of the unfortunate Dardanelles expedition, including its eventual abandonment; the unenthusiastic project to relieve Serbia by a movement from Salonika; the minor naval operations in Mesopotamia, in the Mediterranean, and in waters nearer the British Isles; and, finally, the battle of Jutland. The bulky volume, like its predecessors nearly five hundred pages long, contains a half-dozen diagrams in the text, besides the formidable number of forty-six maps and diagrams, which, in their separate case, form a volume as big as that containing the text itself, and incidentally, priced at a like figure.

In this whole work Sir Julian has singularly well accomplished the very difficult task of writing both a narrative and a chronicle. Although at times nearly inundated by the flood of detail which an official history cannot afford to be without, he tells, whenever he is able to stem this tide, a most readable and graphic story. Its usefulness to the general reader is enhanced by the fact that, although the narrator is dealing primarily with naval operations, he nevertheless leaves no historical gaps in the narrative, so that the reader can readily follow the whole development of the war, on land as well as on sea, without recourse to other authorities.

The account of the bitter but inexorable conviction of the newly formed "War Committee" of the Cabinet (Mr. Asquith, Mr. Balfour, Lord Kitchener, and Sir Edward Grey) gradually changing into action,

in other words into the evacuation of Gallipoli and the abandonment of the whole Dardanelles campaign, is heartbreaking. "On December 27 Admiral de Robeck received a telegram from the First Lord telling him 'with great regret', and in confidence, that the Cabinet had decided for evacuation. . . ." Thus what Sir Julian calls "the long agony of indecision" came to a tragic end, the fact being that, with the definite failure of the attempt at Suvla to outflank the Turks, "nothing more was to be hoped from the Dardanelles without reinforcements so large as materially to affect the position in other theatres and demand a reconstruction of the whole Allied war plan" (p. 107). This, in spite of the utmost arguments of the "Easterners", who favored containing operations in France and an attempted decision in the Near East, was of course impossible. It is characteristic of Sir Julian's optimism that he makes the Russian successes, coincident with the Gallipoli evacuation, a reason, added to the excellent, not to say masterly, manner in which the evacuation was carried out, for self-congratulation. He says (p. 258), "Loss of prestige in the East had all along been the strongest objection to admitting failure, but happily the effect seems to have been to raise the reputation of British arms, and nowhere was it more evident than in the frank admiration of the way the withdrawal was managed which was expressed in Germany". In his whole account of the Dardanelles fiasco Sir Julian solicitously points out the many difficulties confronting the War Committee as well as the leaders of the combatant forces, and it would be difficult to discover a word of blame or even mild criticism.

In so difficult and complicated a campaign as that of the Dardanelles this is no doubt a virtue; but Sir Julian applies the same benevolent treatment to his very elaborate and excellent account of the battle of Jutland, to which he devotes the five last chapters of this volume, besides another illuminating one on the general situation on the eve of the battle. His tendency to exonerate those in authority is here abundantly illustrated. Such sentences as "The Commander-in-Chief's perplexity was not lightened by the fact that Admiral Beatty in giving the bearing of the enemy battle cruisers had omitted their course" (p. 356), "Again Admiral Jellicoe was puzzled to know the reason" (p. 387), and "The information made clear to the Commander-in-Chief beyond all doubt that what he had already prepared for was coming" (p. 376), show Sir Julian to have inclined to the side of the British commander-in-chief on the question, still earnestly debated, whether the latter had not shown himself "un-Nelson-ly" cautious at Jutland. In the review of the second volume of this work (XXVII. 562) our author's amiable habit of dealing gently with reputations was referred to, and it is both interesting and significant to observe that, on a fly-leaf at the beginning of the third volume, the following notice appears:

Note by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty have given the author access to official documents in the preparation of this work, but they are

in no way responsible for its production or for the accuracy of its statements.

Their Lordships find that some of the principles advocated in the book, especially the tendency to minimise the importance of seeking battle and of forcing it to a conclusion, are directly in conflict with their views.

The reference in the second paragraph of this note can only be to the tactics employed by the British commander in the battle of Jutland. We thus have a volume published by the official Committee of Imperial Defence, and written by the official historian, nevertheless repudiated in part by officials of the British navy! The episode perhaps illustrates once more the difficulty of writing history, which predicates the apportioning of praise and blame, so soon after the taking place of the events described. It is true that Sir Julian Corbett had at his command not only the official records of the British, and, to some extent, of the German fleet, as well as the published books of Jellicoe, Scheer, Hase, Gayer, and others; but it is equally obvious that eight years are a short period of time in which to acquire the historical perspective.

As to the narrative itself, the average student of history can probably get a clearer knowledge of the battle of Jutland from it than from any other account hitherto published, though this cannot be done by a merely casual perusal of the text. The several fleet-unit actions which made up the battle of the thirty-first of May and the first of June were, in their complexity and extent, unique in naval history, and the manner in which the two tremendous and complicated machines, the British and German fleets, were manipulated by their directors, otherwise their commanders-in-chief, requires, even with all the facts before us, the closest study, in order to form a distinct conception of the titanic sea-fight which had so enormous an effect on the development of the war, and about which, in general and tactically, historians and naval experts will always dispute. The student of the battle is greatly assisted, when reading Sir Julian's text, by the thirty-one maps and diagrams, giving the movements of the two fleets and the positions of their units, often at intervals of half or even a quarter of an hour. The last words written by Sir Julian perhaps give the key of the whole battle of Jutland, so far as the British navy was concerned: "That was the end, and just after 11.0 he [Admiral Jellicoe] turned N.W. direct for Scapa, while Admiral Beatty, still apparently unwilling to admit the disheartening truth, diverged N.N.E."

"The disheartening truth!" Namely, that the battle had not been "forced to a conclusion".

EDWARD BRECK.

The World Crisis, 1915. By the Rt. Hon. WINSTON S. CHURCHILL, C.H., First Lord of the Admiralty 1911 to 1915. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1923. Pp. xiii, 578. Maps. \$6.50.)

"THIS second volume", writes Mr. Churchill in the preface, deals with a year of ill-fortune to the cause of the Allies. Brilliant op-

portunities presented themselves in vain; grave mistakes were made, and losses were incurred measureless in their pain. The assignment and the division of the responsibility for these events is a task at once difficult and invidious. . . . I was brought by the convictions I held and the course I took [*sic*] into unyielding conflict with two of the most honoured and famous war-figures of our national life—Lord Fisher and Lord Kitchener. Both are now silent for ever. Yet my contention persists, nor could I without insincerity, without concealment, without a woeful surrender of the truth as I see it, fail to make that contention good. I must therefore at the outset disclaim the position of the historian. It is not for me with my record and special point of view to pronounce a final conclusion. That must be left to others and to other times.

In these words the author has given an accurate characterization of his book, which is an apology, which, it may be said at once, succeeds, not in exonerating himself from the responsibility for many grave mistakes, but in showing conclusively that this responsibility was shared to a large extent by men of great reputation, whose judgment he was bound to respect. The second volume, to which Mr. Churchill has given the subtitle "1915", might appropriately have been called "The Tragedy of the Dardanelles"; for, while it deals intimately with the political situation both at home and abroad and covers minor naval operations such as the submarine campaign and the Dogger Bank fight, nevertheless the bulk of it is taken up with the tragic story of the tremendous and persistent attempt to open the road to Russia and cut off Turkey from the Central Powers by capturing the Gallipoli Peninsula, an accomplishment which would have been of far-reaching, possibly decisive, consequence, as it would have made possible military and commercial communication with the Black Sea and the Danube, relieved the pressure on the Russian front, split the Turkish forces in two, and doubtless greatly influenced the attitude of Greece and the Balkan nations. The moral effect too would have been immense. Even the most unyielding "Westerner" must admit this strategic truth. In any event Mr. Churchill did believe it, and he was eager to use Britain's sea-power in a manner commensurate with its traditions and its might. He was smarting under the jibes of his enemies for the fiasco at Antwerp and his failure to make good his boast about "digging the rats out of their holes". No doubt he instinctively dreaded such criticism as was exemplified by the bitter remark made in 1918 by Lord Fisher: "Our Navy, with a sea supremacy quite unexampled in the history of the world (we are five times stronger than the enemy) has been relegated into being a 'Subsidiary Service'! . . ."¹

This remark of Lord Fisher's, made when no longer First Sea Lord, rings oddly when it is remembered that, when it came to a decision in regard to continuing the Dardanelles campaign, at the historic meetings of the War Council in January of 1915, he was the only member opposed to continuing unless with the co-operation of the army, threatened to

¹ *Memories and Records*, II. 234.

resign, and actually did resign definitely on May 15, 1915. It is fair to Mr. Churchill to quote the words of Lord Fisher in 1916: "Mr. Churchill is quite correct. I backed him up till I resigned. I would do the same again. He had courage and imagination. He was a War Man!" At the same time Fisher fretted at the decisive influence of the political element in the War Council. He remarks further in his *Memories*, "If you doubt my dictum that the Cabinet Ministers only were members of the War Council and the rest of us voice tubes to convey information and advice," etc. But, though a Nelsonian through and through himself, he could not condone delivering the *Queen Elizabeth* and the other superdreadnaughts to the torpedoes of the enemy submarines or the big rifles of the Turkish forts, and he quotes "Nelson's dictum that no sailor but a fool would ever attack a fort". He therefore insisted upon the co-operation of the army with the fleet, was outvoted, and soon after resigned. Mr. Churchill is not so generous toward Lord Fisher. Speaking of the latter's reasons for not caring to risk such vessels as the *Queen Elizabeth*, he says (p. 160), "The First Sea Lord could not in his heart feel at all anxious about the Grand Fleet margin". It will be the subject of an excellent thesis in war strategy, whether an early, purely naval attack on the Dardanelles would have been successful. But the fact is that nobody had the courage of his convictions. Everybody in authority, the War Council, the Cabinet, the commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, hesitated and changed opinions. Lord Kitchener was "torn between two perfectly clear-cut views of the war". On March 21 Vice-Admiral de Robeck wished the departure of the troops delayed "until our [*i.e.*, the naval] attack is renewed in a few days' time". On March 22 the Vice-Admiral "told us", says Sir Ian Hamilton (*Gallipoli Diary*, I. 41), "he was now quite clear he could not get through without the help of all my troops". Lord Fisher was outvoted, but hung on until May. He bowed before the majority. As he graphically puts it in his *Memories*, "When I finally decided to go in, I went the whole hog, *totus porcus*". Mr. Churchill says (p. 166), "I have asked myself in these later years, What would have happened if I had taken Lord Fisher's advice and refused point blank to take any action at the Dardanelles unless or until the War Office produced on their responsibility an adequate army to storm the Gallipoli Peninsula?" His only reply to this hypothetical question is futile: "No one can probe this imaginary situation very far, and it is impossible to pronounce." He concludes, "We should have got no operation at all. We should have done nothing, and have been confronted with diplomatic and military reactions wholly unfavourable throughout the Southern and Eastern theatre. Searching my heart, I cannot regret the effort. It was good to go as far as we did. Not to persevere—that was the crime" (p. 167).

The book is but an exposition of the attempt to carry out the most tremendous business of all ages—that of winning the World War—with

an organization and machinery totally inadequate for the task. It is the tale of the unwillingness of an essentially peace-loving democracy to prepare, in spite of warnings, for an emergency naturally repugnant to it, namely, war. It illustrates, brilliantly and graphically, the development in the conduct of war, from the struggle between two nations using only the special weapons forged for the waging of war, namely, the navy and the army, aided to some slight extent by economic measures, to the titanic combat of entire peoples in arms, with men, women, and children mobilized, and every possible economic factor developed to the utmost. It emphasizes the dissipation of effort among the Allies, largely owing to divided command and divided council. In 1915 men were still groping blindly and struggling frantically. They were bound to make mistakes, tragic mistakes, and they made them.

The British navy emerges with honor from the pages of Mr. Churchill, in spite of its shortcomings. But one cannot help being struck by the efficiency of the units and the failure of the directing force, namely, the Admiralty. There would appear to have been no adequate planning section, with the answers to every conceivable naval likelihood already prepared, such as the Americans themselves maintained later in the war in London, as a part of the Anglo-American co-operation.¹ On the other hand, many of the British naval departments, as well as the actual fleets, squadrons, and minor units, were extraordinarily well organized and functioned perfectly. For example, the German secret service was supposed to be the most efficient in the world, but, as a matter of fact, it was inferior to that of Great Britain, which was of uncanny prescience. Mr. Churchill's narrative of the events which preceded the Dogger Bank fight is significant of this, especially such passages as, "Sir Arthur [Wilson] explained briefly the conclusions which he had formed from the intercepted German message which our cryptographers had translated, and from other intelligence of which he was a master". It is a fact that hardly a submarine or other ship left a German port without the knowledge of the British Admiralty. The Germans were beaten at their own favorite game.

EDWARD BRECK.

The Development of International Law after the World War. By OTFRIED NIPPOLD. Translated from the German by AMOS S. HERSHEY, Ph.D., Professor of Political Science and International Law in Indiana University. [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.] (Oxford: Clarendon Press; London and New York: Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford. 1923. Pp. xv, 241. \$2.50.)

THIS work is a translation of *Die Gestaltung des Völkerrechts nach dem Weltkriege*, which first appeared in the spring of 1917. It is there-

¹ See *The American Naval Planning Section*, London, published by the U. S. Navy Department, 1923.

fore a forecast and not, as might be gathered from the title, an inventory and appraisal of international law as the World War actually left it. The author, German by birth but Swiss by nationality, was during the war severely critical of German policy and German attitude toward international law and frequently expressed himself in no uncertain terms. The present volume attempts to forecast the needs of the world if law between nations is to prevail. The international legal order can only be the regulation of relations in a state of peace. Therefore there must be a clear distinction between international law and the law of war. This he attempts by dividing his work into two parts, one on international law, the other on the law of war. For the development of the former as substantive law there must be a regularization and development of procedure. This he asserts to be the most essential task after the war. The machinery of procedure rests upon international organization. The form of organization is substantially that of the League of Nations. For this the author claims at least some credit of paternity, for in a foot-note contributed to the present translation (p. 44, note 2) he asserts: "The problem of the League of Nations was pushed into the foreground only after the publication of the German edition of this book." For those, again, who are interested in the evolution of the Fourteen Points reference may be made to the author's own Tettareskaidecalogue (pp. 99-101). From it the conclusion is that, as many have put the matter otherwise, the prime necessity of international law is an adequate sanction through organization, or, as Nippold calls it, "a system of substantial external guarantees" (p. 128).

Turning to the second part, on the law of war, which he seeks to differentiate from international law, Nippold finds that the Hague Convention on Land Warfare "has on the whole stood the test" (p. 132), but that as the war of the future will be primarily a commercial war (in economic coercion backed by international organization), in naval warfare the war aim, while the same as before, will emphasize the means of such economic coercion. Hence blockade and contraband will continue to be developed, but the right of capture of prizes will perhaps disappear "if we succeed in abolishing the military system" (p. 141), and likewise the use of mines will at least be diminished, although "the entire prohibition of mines is not to be hoped for, perhaps not even to be desired" (*ibid.*). As to submarines he anticipates the provisions of the Washington Conference by stating that "the law of war must not put chains upon the waging of war, certainly the attainment of the war aim is not to be hindered by rules of law, yet the use of mines and submarines can very well be so regulated that, to the limit of their capacity, they may be made to serve the aim of war, and yet avoid exposing neutrals to unnecessary perils and injuries. In formulating laws of submarine warfare, the experiences of this war will cause this point to be emphasized above all others, namely, that by mere terrorizing the war aim can never be attained. Only that which may be decisive for the

termination of the war serves the war aim" (p. 143). Nippold's logic in seeking to read the law of war out of international law is not compelling: the law of war seems to be but another name for the international law of war with a different set of sanctions. Nevertheless the author is stimulating and suggestive, even if at times romantic. For those who are not satiated with war polemics the author reprints in an appendix a controversy with Zorn about the German position relative to the Hague Conferences. Of much more value is the treatment of the freedom of the seas (pp. 148-186). This is a real contribution, for here are assembled from sources not readily accessible views expressed during the war by writers on both sides. Altogether the work was well worth translating, and that task has been accomplished in readable fashion.

J. S. REEVES.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches thereto, to 1773. Collected by ADOLPH F. A. BANDELIER and FANNY R. BANDELIER. Spanish texts and English translations, edited with introductions and annotations by CHARLES WILSON HACKETT, Associate Professor of Latin American History in the University of Texas. Volume I. (Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1923. Pp. xx, 502. Paper, \$3.75; cloth, \$4.75.)

ONE can hardly conceive of a more important undertaking by an American institution that includes historical research among its functions than that of searching for and publishing original documents pertaining to the earliest period of the nation's history. It was research of this kind that engaged the attention of the Carnegie Institution of Washington in 1911, when it enlisted the services of the late Adolph F. A. Bandelier for the purpose of copying, in the archives of Mexico and of Spain, such documents as bear on the early history of our Southwest. The product of this labor consisted of about five hundred pages transcribed in Mexico, and of about nine hundred pages subsequently copied in Seville; but of the former collection about half comprised extracts from printed works, evidently made for subsidiary use. After the death of Bandelier at Seville during the progress of the work, it was continued by his wife. Added to the Bandelier collection of transcripts, to the extent of about one-tenth, are copies of various manuscripts in the Edward E. Ayer collection in the Newberry Library of Chicago, the Bancroft Library of the University of California, and the private collection of Professor Herbert E. Bolton.

When Dr. Jameson, director of the Department of Historical Research, was authorized to proceed with the publication of the materials

gathered by the Bandeliers, he was fortunately able to gain the co-operation of Dr. Charles W. Hackett, of the University of Texas, whose preliminary training under Professor Bolton, and his subsequent excellent studies relating to Southwestern history, so well equipped him for such an undertaking. With able assistance in transcribing and translating, Dr. Hackett assumed the task in 1917, and after six years of labor the first of the four volumes of these historical documents has been placed before students.

This collection of Spanish documents does not pertain alone to our Southwest, for, in order to afford a background to the entire work, a chapter on the Expansion of Spain in North America, 1492-1590, is included, introductory to the documentary treatment of the Founding of New Mexico, 1580-1600, which composes the remainder of the volume.

The plan of the book is in accord with the best traditions of works of its kind. Dr. Jameson in an introductory note sets forth the conception of the undertaking, while Dr. Hackett in his preface summarizes briefly and elucidates the plan. The two parts of the text are divided into appropriate sections, each preceded by an introduction prepared by Dr. Hackett, and followed with brief explanatory notes. The Spanish text is accompanied with English translations, page for page, and an adequate index is provided.

The Carnegie Institution of Washington has made it possible to produce the first volume of a series that will prove to be of truly monumental importance to students of the oldest part of the United States, historically speaking. It is a work that has long been needed, and there is little doubt that the source-materials now and hereafter afforded will be the means of settling various mooted points respecting the early exploration and colonization of our Southwest and of the adjacent Mexican regions. The succeeding three volumes will be awaited with great interest. Dr. Hackett, as editor, is to be felicitated on the completion of the first volume of a work of such great promise, while the wisdom of the Carnegie Institution in making it possible will be commended by all students.

F. W. HODGE.

Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period: Illustrative Documents. Edited under the auspices of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America by JOHN FRANKLIN JAMESON, Director of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1923. Pp. xxvi, 619. \$5.00.)

AMONG the many valuable collections of historical documents issued under the auspices of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, none will stand higher in the estimation of scholars than Dr. Jameson's Book of Pirates. It contains a series of texts, brought to-

gether from many scattered and often obscure places both here and abroad, that constitute a representative and fairly complete list of references to colonial piracy and privateering from 1638 to 1762. The items, 203 in number, range from the brief text of the decree of a judge of a vice-admiralty court to the long and detailed record of the careers of such pirates as Every, Kidd, and the crew of Bartholomew Sharp, including even the familiar "Lament" of Kidd, which we all know, in part at least, and which the editor says he remembers hearing his Salem grandmother sing when he was a boy. The narratives are exciting and dramatic and might furnish material for a score of tales of piratic adventure, as thrilling as that of *Treasure Island*. The career of Kidd is distinctly less interesting than those of Every and the Sharp crew, and one feels that Kidd has become the most famous of pirates, less for what he actually did, than from the reputed disposal of his gains and the uncertainty of his guilt. As Dr. Jameson refuses to reach a conclusion on this last point, we may well believe that the problem is insoluble.

The work contains a body of annotations which as a storehouse of reliable and illuminating information attains to high distinction. Dr. Jameson has taken his editorial functions with the utmost seriousness and in the face of difficulties that at times seem almost insurmountable (as in the case of the drug items on pages 457-461) has commented on sea-terms, ship names, sails, rigging, courses, and particularly place and personal names, some of which seem almost hopelessly obscure. The notes in this volume arouse our admiration for the editor's energy and persistence and profound respect for his learning, insight, and wisdom. He rarely fails in his determination to leave nothing unexplained, but is clearly puzzled by "the new Company in Venice" on page 484, and by "la'ft" on page 127. He says nothing about "Hack boat" (p. 182), does not make it clear that "Minnens" was probably the contemporary pronunciation of "Menziess" (p. 315), does not explain "Our Buoy" (p. 386), "dropping Stones" and "Distil Stones" (pp. 475, 484), and queries "Thares", which is clearly "Shares", on page 521. It is a mistake to identify Captain Larimore of page 152 with the Larrimore of Bacon's Rebellion. The mention of the "Board of Trade" and the "Lords of Trade" in the same foot-note (p. 180), and of "Cape Corso Castle" and "Cape Coast Castle" on adjoining pages (pp. 315-316), may mislead readers, though none of these forms is incorrect.

I cannot close this notice, all too brief, of a very notable book without calling attention to several delicious touches of humor that are well worth quoting, but can only be noted here by reference (pp. xvi, 167, 169, 207, 280, 316, 344), except in the one case of the editor's comments on Cotton Mather's ministrations as adding "a new horror" to a pirate's dread of execution. Dr. Jameson has given us one more illustration, and from a new angle, of the "usual insufferable vanity" of that famous Puritan divine.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, June, 1708-1709, preserved in the Public Record Office. Edited by CECIL HEADLAM, M. A. (London: H. M. Stationery Office. 1922. Pp. xlv, 642. 40 s. 9 d.)

THE new volume of the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, appears six years after its immediate predecessor and advances the subject a year and a half. The expectations aroused in 1916, when two volumes, covering a period of nearly four years, were issued within a few months of each other, have not been fulfilled; and, although, in the meantime, the first independent volume of the Board of Trade *Journal* has been given to the public and enough material has been calendared in manuscript to make one or more volumes of the printed colonial series, it is probably too much to hope that any rapid or regular system of publication is likely to be entered upon in the near future.

The present volume is similar in content to that which went before, in that it shows during these years in the colonies a marked falling-off in the numerous querulous complaints and charges, directed against the proprietary and corporate governments, such as characterized the documents calendared from 1696 to 1706. Undoubtedly this decrease in the number of complaints is due to the failure of the bills brought before Parliament in 1701 and 1706 for the purpose of reducing the private colonies to a closer dependence on the crown, in support of which most of the charges were prepared. Consequently, during these later years there are fewer signs of restlessness and discontent than there were in the earlier period and fewer indications that the colonists were aggrieved because of the policy inaugurated after 1696 for the purpose of enforcing the acts of trade. Either the colonists were getting used to the situation and were finding it less serious than they had feared, or else the Board was not following up its policy as strictly as had been expected. Probably both causes were at work, for the colonies seem to be entering on a period of adjustment of their relations with the mother country that was becoming reasonably satisfactory to both sides.

After employing for ten years a policy that had something coercive about it, the Board decided to adopt a new method of dealing with colonial affairs. It seems to have realized that the reports of such men as Randolph, Quary, Bridger, and Larkin were not to be depended upon, and that to despatch such men to America was not the best way to win the confidence of the colonists or to secure the most reliable information. It, therefore, revived a form of inquiry introduced by the Lords of Trade as far back as 1680 and called on the colonial governors to send full and frequent returns of the state and condition of their respective governments. In a series of queries, sent out in 1707 and differently worded according to the different conditions prevailing in the royal provinces, the proprietries, and Newfoundland, it demanded answers to a great variety of questions covering matters of government, administration,

the judiciary, trade, population, and the like. In 1708-1709 replies were beginning to come in. Those from Newfoundland, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas are calendared very fully in this volume and give a remarkably clear and detailed picture of the colonial situation in those years. Inquiries, also, were sent at the same time for the purpose of obtaining data regarding the number of negroes imported into the colonies, in the interest of a report that the Board was asked to make to the House of Commons on the activities of the Royal African Company and the private Guinea traders and that was finally submitted in two sections, on January 27 and December 19, 1709. Questions were asked, too, regarding patent offices, that is, such offices in the colonies as were filled by patents issued in England, a form of appointment that was subject to grave abuses. Despite the Board's efforts to reform this system, it had too many supporters at headquarters to yield to treatment.

A large part of the volume is taken up with documents relating to Barbados, the Leeward Islands, and Jamaica, where Governors Crowe, Parke, and Handasyd were involved in all sorts of troubles. Crowe was corrupt and arbitrary and had eventually to be recalled. Parke had more justice on his side and was able to satisfy the home government that he was not the only offender; but in spite of this fact he could not satisfy his opponents in the colony, who made two attempts to assassinate him, the story of which is recounted here. The details of the third and successful attempt will appear in the next volume. Handasyd was, on the whole, badly treated by the authorities at home, and finally retired heartily sick of his job. Another large number of papers, some thirty in all, concern the plans for the expedition against Canada in 1709, suggested by Colonel Samuel Vetch of Massachusetts. The project was taken up with enthusiasm by the New Englanders and New Yorkers, who were willing, for the time being, to sink their differences with each other and with England, and to accept the military leadership of an English general, Nicholson, in order to drive the French from Montreal and Quebec and to exterminate the nest of pirates at Port Royal that had become an unmitigated nuisance. Underlying this plan for offensive action was the hope of preserving and extending the trade in furs, fish, and naval stores. With these papers may be included others relating to a plan to recapture the Bahamas, which had fallen into the hands of French and Spanish buccaneers, and to an expedition against the French at Mobile, proposed by one Thomas Nairne, who styled himself "agent and itinerary justice among the Indians" there.

Among matters of lesser importance may be mentioned the interpretations of the Navigation Acts, given in sections 226, 372, and 406; information about the working of the Coinage Act of 1708; and the various attempts made to settle the poor Palatines in Jamaica, a phase of the Palatine movement about which little has been known hitherto. At-

tention may be called also to Virginia's complaint that South Carolina was interfering with her fur trade; to the engrossing of sugar lands in the West Indies and of tobacco lands in Virginia, in consequence of which many of the smaller farmers were compelled to migrate elsewhere; and to the evidence for illicit trading, privateering, and piracy, all of which were still indulged in, though on a reduced scale. That piracy was still considered, in some quarters, a respectable sort of business appears from a remarkable petition printed on page 411, from "the wives and relations of pirates and buccaneers of Madagascar and elsewhere in the East and West Indies to H. M." praying "on behalf of said pirates and their accomplices, for a general pardon, soe that their wealth and riches may be secured to them on their return home". It is difficult to imagine a state of society and social justice in which such a petition could be taken seriously.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

Samuel Adams, Promoter of the American Revolution: a Study in Psychology and Politics. By RALPH VOLNEY HARLOW, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in Boston University. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1923. Pp. x, 363. \$3.00.)

DR. HARLOW has written an interesting, original, and courageous book, in a good, pithy style. But from the professional viewpoint it is neither a sound nor a valuable book; and it is certainly not a definitive biography of Samuel Adams.

From contemporary Boston newspapers, the Bernard and the Hutchinson manuscripts, and other sources, Dr. Harlow has gleaned several new facts and opinions on Revolutionary Massachusetts. His exhibit, in chapter XI., of evidences of the levelling and radical spirit of 1774-1775, is excellent. His interpretation of the Tea Party is original, and at variance with Professor Schlesinger's. But he has neglected certain valuable sources, such as the manuscript collections of the New York Public Library, and he has adduced no new fact of any importance for the life of Samuel Adams. None of the mysteries of his career, such as the means of his reversing the House majority in 1768, and the date of his first conscious striving for independence, have been cleared up. Although we are often told that Adams imposed his will and his views on an unwilling community, we are not told how it was done. Nothing new is discovered respecting the machinery of agitation—the caucuses, committees, anniversary celebrations, dinners, and song-fests, which were Adams's characteristic contributions to the cause. His strong Puritan prejudice, which gave him the key to the New England heart, is barely mentioned. His Congressional career after 1776 is wholly omitted, although there are some amusing pages on his reaction to Shays' Rebellion. The social and political background, which, as Mr. J. T. Adams has shown, goes far to explain the goings-on of the Yan-

kees, is neglected; and the author's knowledge of political theory is evidently too slight for a just appraisal of Sam Adams's political writings.

The original feature of the work is its attempt to explain Adams's character and career in terms of psychoanalysis. He "was not entirely normal"—what revolutionary is?—"and he probably was a neurotic"—a probability upon which much dogmatic assertion is based. Adams's early failures in business gave him an "inferiority complex". "His political activity was the product, not of his reason, but of his emotions, and his behavior in politics was on that account always irrational" (p. 143). His sense of frustration was projected upon England, because England had ruined his father along with the Land Bank.

The new psychology is doubtless destined to become a valuable instrument of historical interpretation; but it is a sharp and jagged tool with which amateurs should not play, at least not until the psychologists have defined the rules of the game. Until then, we had better content ourselves with excavating evidence on historical characters, for the professionals to analyze in the *Journal of Psychology*. Now, the evidence that a psychologist mostly wants is data on a person's childhood and youth—his relations with his parents, brothers, and school-fellows; his sex experiences and dreams; his pathological symptoms. Given these, a convincing and enlightening psychological biography may be constructed. But of Adams's childhood and youth we are wholly ignorant, and the only pathological evidence adduced by his biographer is an intermittent tremulousness of hand and voice, which was also characteristic of John Adams and John Quincy Adams. Dr. Harlow has built up his case without any of the data that a psychotherapist requires to analyze a patient.

Having postulated the inferiority complex and neuroticism, Dr. Harlow lays down a course of behavior that a person thus afflicted must follow and distorts Adams's career in order to fit it into the pattern. Neurotics "always make an effort to redress the lack of balance in the objective world by constructing mental worlds of their own" (p. 170). "Objective causes fail to give any adequate explanation of Adams's behavior." Reconciliation meant, for Adams, "the destruction of the vehicle in which he had ridden far on the road to success". Hence his "subjective creation" of a tyrannical Britain, and a wholly irrational agitation in 1771-1773. It is curious that Professor McIlwain has just pronounced some of these "subjective" and "emotional" writings of Adams to be a more historically correct description of the powers of Parliament than anything written by Chatham or Burke. Dr. Harlow misses the significance of tightening imperial fiscal control at this period, and of the new colonial civil list. These were facts; not the only facts, to be sure, but one did not have to be a neurotic to consider them the essential facts of the situation, against which it was necessary to arouse the people before "they will be so accustomed to bondage, as to forget they were ever free" (*Writings of Adams*, II. 189). The

policy *principiis ob stare* that Adams then adopted may have been a dangerous policy—a “principle of subversion”, as Acton wrote. It doubtless fell short of the highest political morality; but it was not an irrational policy, aimed at an imaginary situation; nor, in view of what followed, can it be deemed an impractical policy.

S. E. MORISON.

The Life of Caleb Cushing. In two volumes. By CLAUDE M. FUESS. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company. 1923. Pp. xi, 454; vii, 442. \$10.00.)

HERE is told for the first time the life story of an outstanding “Northern man with Southern principles”. Caleb Cushing’s part in the struggle over slavery has heretofore been interpreted from the opinions of his opponents. John Quincy Adams charged him with “obsequiousness and sacrifice of principles” (I. 412). When Cushing attacked antislavery as “immoral and irreligious”, James Russell Lowell retorted: “Since Reynard the Fox donned a friar’s hood, and, with the feathers still sticking in his whiskers, preached against the damnable heresy of hen-stealing, there has been nothing like this!” (II. 221–223.) Even James Ford Rhodes felt constrained to say while praising Cushing’s talents: “It is, indeed, a pity to mar the portrait of such a man, but it cannot be denied that he lacked moral sense” (Rhodes, I. 392). When Mr. Fuess, therefore, gained access to Cushing’s papers, so long withheld by the family from the public eye, he had a remarkable opportunity to speak from the personal records of the man.

After graduation from Harvard, Cushing plunged into law, literature, and politics. In Congress, he defended the right of petition but opposed abolitionist measures. On the bank issue he supported Tyler against Clay and left the Whig party. Tyler sent him as minister to China. He returned to become a general in the Mexican War and Democratic candidate for governor of Massachusetts. While on the supreme bench of Massachusetts, Cushing was named attorney general by Pierce. Cushing took the Southern view on “bleeding Kansas” and upheld the Dred Scott Decision. He presided at the Democratic convention of 1860 in Charleston and joined the Southern bolters at Baltimore. But when South Carolina seceded, Cushing had reached his “Farthest South”. He became confidential counsellor of two Republican secretaries of state. For Seward he studied the Trent affair and negotiated a treaty with Colombia. Fish relied upon him in negotiating the Treaty of Washington with Great Britain; he went as senior counsel before the Geneva Tribunal to settle the *Alabama* claims. He ended his long public service as minister to Spain. He might have ended it as Chief Justice of the United States, had his “Southern principles” made fewer enemies in the North.

The biographer has made no attempt to conceal Cushing’s ambition for personal advancement. His was a remarkable career of strenuous

public service, but never disinterested. It did not contain the element of sacrifice that has endeared Lee to the American people. Nor has the author blinked the fact that Cushing was cold to the moral issue in slavery. More than that, Cushing lacked the vision to see what Lincoln saw clearly—that this nation could not exist half slave, half free. With tenacious courage Cushing fought, up to the moment of secession, for the principle of a dual nation. Mr. Fuess holds a brief for Cushing's sincerity (I. 6, II. 413). Many readers, however, will lay down these volumes with some doubts still lurking in their minds. After all, Cushing's home, family, and property were in the North. Lee rode away from Arlington to lose himself in his cause. Somehow Cushing's professions of love for the Union do not ring clear and true. His patriotism had responded more readily when, with the cry of "manifest destiny", American settlers had pressed into the Mexican state of Texas.

A sharper delineation of politics in Massachusetts could have been made as a background. Jacksonians and Whigs are not clearly characterized. The Antimasons are misrepresented. They were not entirely absorbed by the Whigs. Election records show that a larger number joined with the Democrats to support Van Buren. The effect of Tyler's administration upon the Democratic party has not been sufficiently indicated. Jacksonians had to stand by and watch Calhoun and old "nullifiers" return to power. These pro-slavery Democrats wrested control of the party from Van Buren and so directed its policy that the Free Soil party, a coalition of Van Buren Democrats and "Young Whigs", became an eventuality. The account of the Kansas-Nebraska affair is disappointing. Cushing's relations with Douglas on the one hand and with radical Southerners on the other ought to throw more light upon the motives which inspired the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and reopened the controversy over the extension of slavery. Historical students who turn to this biography will be disappointed that the author has not found more in the great mass of Cushing manuscripts.

Mr. Fuess has, however, contributed to our knowledge of the China mission and Webster's relations with Tyler. He has given an interesting account of the nomination of Pierce and of Cushing's service as attorney general. He has thrown side-lights upon the abolitionist Garrison, upon the poet Whittier as a politician, and upon Everett, polished orator and idol of respectability. He has shown Cushing's value as adviser to the administrations of Buchanan, Lincoln, Johnson, and Grant.

A. B. DARLING.

The Civil War in America. By WALTER GASTON SHOTWELL. In two volumes. (New York and London: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1923. Pp. ix, 397; vii, 379. \$10.00.)

THESE volumes are a tribute to the author's industry, but they are too detailed and extended to command much attention from the general

reader and too uncritical to be of much help to the student. Fundamentally, they comprise a narrative history of the War between the States, but from the traditional and orthodox Northern viewpoint. Too often the impression is given that the Southern armies existed merely because it was necessary for the Federal forces to have an opposition. Especially is this evident in the narrative relating to the operations in the West.

The work opens with a short résumé of the events leading up to the opening of the struggle, followed by an account of the gathering of the forces and a narrative of the First Manassas. The remainder of the first volume is devoted to an account of the operations in the West, concluding with the fall of Vicksburg. The opening of the second volume continues the western operations to the fall of Chattanooga, after which the narrative takes up the events in Virginia, beginning with the Peninsula campaign and continuing to the end at Appomattox, with brief interludes to tell of the Atlanta campaign, of Sherman's raid to the sea and his subsequent march northwards, and of Hood's Tennessee campaign.

The treatment of the several campaigns is uneven, the best being that relating to Vicksburg, in the first volume, and to the Second Manassas and Gettysburg, in the second volume. The account of the Seven Days' Battles is particularly unsatisfactory, as is that of the naval operations, which deals largely with the spectacular features of naval participation, but which contains no particular discussion of the effect and importance of Northern superiority at sea. The statements as to battle strength and losses are uncited and are rather loose and not altogether accurate. There is no mention of the military and naval operations at Charleston or of those in Florida. Nor is the Red River campaign of 1864 or Lee's expiring effort at Fort Steadman in 1865 mentioned. More surprising, however, is the lack of comment on Wilson's well-conceived and well-executed campaign into Alabama and Georgia in the spring of 1865.

There are no notes, no maps, and no bibliography. Only at rare intervals is there an attempt at constructive critical discussion and evaluation. Nor is there any mention of the problems of munitions, transportation, enlistments, etc., a common neglect with most writers of this period.

The author is, apparently, comparatively unfamiliar with the details of the war from the Southern standpoint, as is evidenced by many minor errors of names, initials, and rank. Most of the important battlefields have evidently been visited in person. This has made possible good descriptions of the scenes of important actions, but has not compensated for the lack of maps.

The devotion of most of the first volume to the operations in the West is fortunate, as it has resulted in giving a needed emphasis to the important operations in the granary of the Confederacy. While the

Federal army in Virginia was being consistently defeated by Lee and his veterans, the Northern armies in the West were pursuing an uninterrupted course of victory.

This emphasis of the western operations is apparently due to the author's admiration for Grant rather than to a definite and preconceived purpose resulting from an appreciation of the importance of these operations in their effect on the final outcome of the war. A study of these operations is interesting because in this area the South was, practically, never decisively the winner. This was due as much to ineffective leadership, to the immense area, and to the lack of sufficient forces, as to Grant's genius.

There is a frank admiration and appreciation of Lee, both as a man and a general, though Grant is the author's hero. Too often, however, it seems to appear that after all Lee was only a convenient foil for the exercise of Grant's superior powers and genius! No comment on the constant relative disparity of resources and men is made. There are a number of brief and illuminating biographical sketches of Northern leaders, such as McClellan, Pope, Fitz-John Porter, Meade, and others of similar rank. McClellan is the author's *bête noire* and is roughly handled. Pope comes off much better than has heretofore been his lot and seems to be unduly favored. The author correctly points out the injustice done to Sumner when he was not promoted into McClellan's place and later to succeed Burnside. Certainly Sumner was more entitled to the promotion than either Burnside or Hooker, both because of his long service and because of his effective leadership on the field of battle.

Briefly, this is a history of the war in terms of slavery, secession, and military events (battles). The author considers the war "as brought about by a few angered politicians—disappointed at the result of an election, discouraged at the prospect of diminished patronage, and ambitious of honors in a new republic—and that it would end in the destruction of slavery" (I. 86). He repeats the ancient, and now refuted, story of Floyd's "treachery". Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation "was a staggering blow to a Confederacy that had always been struggling with financial embarrassments" (II. 144). There are a number of misstatements, half-statements, and omissions regarding some of the important details of the military operations.

From many angles the work under review deserves high praise. The fundamental criticism of it is that it is uncritical, undocumented, and tends to be one-sided. The American history of the War between the States that will consider the contest impartially as it relates both to the North and the South still remains to be written. There is no military history of the war in terms of munitions, transport, food, and all that go to make an effective army, properly correlated with a critical narrative of the military and naval operations.

THOMAS ROBSON HAY.

Reconstruction in Arkansas, 1862-1874. By THOMAS S. STAPLES, Ph.D., Professor of History, Hendrix College. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. CIX.] (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1923. Pp. 450. \$4.50.)

THIS exhaustive work on reconstruction in Arkansas brings to a close the long series of studies on the reconstruction period which were begun nearly forty years ago at Columbia University by Frederic Bancroft and the late William A. Dunning and were continued for more than a quarter of a century in Professor Dunning's seminar. There was no more productive seminar in America than this of Professor Dunning and its output constitutes a monument to him as scholar and teacher.

The work of Dr. Staples follows the familiar plan of the Columbia series, though perhaps it is restricted more closely than others to the development of the reconstruction in a single state. It begins with the partial occupation of Arkansas by Federal forces and the appointment by Lincoln of General Phelps as military governor. The author next traces the gradual development of a "loyal" party from a very small nucleus of true Union men to the constitutional convention of 1864 which undertook to inaugurate reconstruction according to the Lincoln ten per cent. plan. Arkansas, therefore, belongs in a group with Virginia, Louisiana, and Tennessee; its war-time reconstruction came to an end in failure in 1867-1868, just as the "Lincoln" governments did in Virginia and Louisiana. Some attention is given to the growth of a radical party in the state, with a fuller account of the development of the military reconstruction under the acts of Congress of 1867. Among other matters which are exhaustively treated may be mentioned the methods by which the Republican party entrenched itself in control of the state, the Freedmen's Bureau, education, social and economic conditions, and finally, the break-up of the Republican party in 1874, the year of the "tidal wave".

Several important characteristics distinguish the reconstruction in Arkansas from that of the other Southern states. Arkansas, a frontier state of the South, was never strongly occupied by Federal forces. The state had a small negro population and therefore had fewer race conflicts. General Phelps, Lincoln's military governor, accomplished nothing at all, but as early as 1863 several prominent ex-Confederates were aiding in a movement to restore the state to the Union. Since it was an out-of-the-way state Arkansas did not attract much public notice, and apparently its government had less intimate connections with Washington than was the case in the larger and better known states to the east. The most interesting episode of the Arkansas reconstruction is the Brooks and Baxter war between the partizans of rival Republican claimants for the governorship. In this controversy President Grant, the local Republicans, and the local Democrats each changed sides at least once. Able carpet-baggers were less numerous than in other states, though General

Powell Clayton, governor from 1868 to 1872, is one of the best types of the strong executive so characteristic of the reconstruction régime. Misgovernment under incompetent officials there was, but the story of this is not so dreary as usual.

Dr. Staples bases his work to an unusual degree upon local newspapers and upon local public documents, but does not appear to have exhausted the possibilities of the United States public documents. Memoirs and first-hand accounts by participants in the reconstruction were evidently not often to be had—at any rate have not been much used. As a result the story is mainly political and is therefore lacking in color and incident. But it is a worthy number of the Columbia series, and the cool and clear discussion of the various controversial subjects reflects credit upon the author's poise and scholarship.

Four Famous New Yorkers: the Political Careers of Cleveland, Platt, Hill, and Roosevelt. [The Political History of the State of New York, vol. IV.] By DEALVA STANWOOD ALEXANDER, LL.D. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1923. Pp. xvii, 488. \$4.00.)

ABOUT twenty years ago Colonel Alexander completed his three volumes on the *Political History of the State of New York*, at that time without much doubt the best state history yet produced. Told in sprightly, animated style, the story brought forth characters that lived in the reader's mind almost as really as they had years before in the towns or along the country roads of New York state. This was the more remarkable as the book possessed a kind of encyclopaedic inclusiveness, as if the writer had always at his hand the old *Civil Lists* that Thurlow Weed so warmly recommended to historians. It was a political history in being the history of politicians, a tale of how some men outwitted others, but finely generous and impartial in spirit, as a man might tell of a good game between keen and vigorous antagonists. The events of all campaigns for office were covered quite evenly, so that the chapters read like well-written year-books of political parties. The unfriendly critic might deplore the lack of emphasis so essential to composition, either of a historical narrative or a painting or a park, but the author doubtless could answer that he had essayed a faithful human record rather than a general picture or a philosophical interpretation. To him the leaders were interesting as they attracted or repelled by personal qualities, rather than as they represented the mass interests of different sections of society. In his political history he is biographical rather than in the slightest degree sociological.

It is appropriate, then, that his fourth volume, which brings the story from 1882 to 1904, should be entitled *Four Famous New Yorkers*; it is in all respects similar in theme and treatment to its predecessors, a record of nominations and elections, and of whatever legislation became the issue

of electoral contest. The first of these famous New Yorkers, Grover Cleveland, actually figures rather briefly in these pages, for he functioned briefly in state politics; only a year and a half intervened between the time when he left the mayor's chair in Buffalo and that when he became a presidential candidate. Senator Hill has most space because his career was more active in New York than Platt's and longer than Roosevelt's. The reader peers beneath that marble mask and sees the elation that he felt in victory and the chagrin in defeat, a man who knew men and held to his engagements, and yet no man to take a romantic stand on principle. Hill did much to bring Alton B. Parker into prominence, and Parker became the formal eulogist of Hill, but when Parker sent his memorable "gold telegram" to St. Louis, in 1904, he addressed it to William F. Sheehan and not to Hill, whom he deemed too shrewd to be trusted with such a plain, outspoken statement. The careful chronicle of Hill is one of the most valuable features of the work, for he left us no autobiography to speak for him as did Platt and Roosevelt. Hill's fight with Croker alone is worth the four dollars which the bookseller demands for the volume. On the other hand, one leaves the book with no understanding of the power of Platt, who haunts these pages, as he once did the cartoons, merely as a sort of feline wraith of whom sundry persons are much afraid until honest Ben Odell blows him off. But the narrative deals not alone with politics centring in Albany; the picture of the contests in the greater city, as it became in 1898, is quite as interesting.

Like Judge Hammond, whose *Political History*, published some eighty years ago, may have been unconsciously his model, Colonel Alexander has held the scales steadily in weighing the merits of his contemporaries. Some meet the test with credit, like Governor Odell; others not so well, like Governor Black. There is a judicial care in statement; for example, an eminent New York lawyer once named for governor by a Democratic faction may read what history says of him: He "was never silent and never unscrupulous. Although occasionally arrogant and rarely inclined to self-abnegation, his high character for ability and courage gave him great prestige", etc. (p. 225). One misses the sense of public opinion that makes so real Professor Peck's *Twenty Years of the Republic*, devoted to about the same years; and one misses, too, the more "scientific" analysis of party methods which makes notable Dr. Gosnell's recent volume on *Boss Platt*. There are no general explanations, no conclusions. But when the critic comes back to the preface and takes the book "not as a history of legislation, or of the great public questions of the time, but of the personal forces or types of public men who controlled the two great political parties in the State of New York", he must pronounce the volume a fit companion for its predecessor, that is to say, a thoroughly successful work. Probably no other state had as interesting politics in those years; certainly no other has so full and fair a record of its political contests.

DIXON RYAN FOX.

A Life of Francis Amasa Walker. By JAMES PHINNEY MUNROE.
(New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1923. Pp. vii, 449.
\$4.00.)

AMONG the biographies which will assist the historian in interpreting the thought and objectives of the American nation in the last third of the nineteenth century, few will be more serviceable than this narrative of the career of General Walker. For the period referred to, Walker's life represents an unusual range and combination of interests. It included the Civil War, public service in specialized fields, a transition in educational methods, and leadership in the development of the new science of economics.

Born in 1840, Walker entered manhood at the outbreak of the Civil War and promptly enlisted. In three early chapters, the student of military affairs will find not only judgments in regard to army commanders and the strategy of certain campaigns but also intimate pictures of the soldier's daily routine and drudgery. This latter description is the more unusual, being largely based upon extracts from manuscript stories which General Walker dictated for grandchildren and which were not designed for publication.

Walker rendered notable public service as superintendent of the census in 1870 and again in 1880; as commissioner of Indian affairs, 1871-1872; and as chief of the bureau of awards at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. Four chapters are devoted to these responsibilities. In all these positions he gained prestige, and in a period when political partizanship was flagrant he displayed great independence. The census of 1880 is a most remarkable example of governmental research and publication.

The historian of social life will possibly be more interested in the latter part of the volume, which is concerned with Walker's educational work as professor in Yale University and president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and also with his authorship of well-known books on economics. The five chapters relating to his struggles to place the Institute of Technology on a sound financial basis and his loyal and constant exposition of the aims of technical education have more than a local interest, or one confined to the graduates of that institution. They furnish the historian of education with a useful source of material in regard to the vital changes from the classical training of the last century to the vocational curricula of the present.

No one is better fitted to write this biography than Mr. Munroe. He was secretary of the Institute of Technology under Walker's administration and knew him well. General Walker did not keep letters of correspondents or copies of his own, and the task of the biographer to present an adequate picture of Walker's intense and varied intellectual interests was by no means easy. Fortunately, Mr. Henry Holt was not only Walker's publisher but also a warm personal friend, and this gave rise to correspon-

dence which was placed at the service of the biographer. Apart from correspondence, General Walker wrote many reports, addresses, and articles from periodicals, as well as his works on economics and military history, which frankly revealed his convictions on social and political questions of the day. Mr. Munroe has shown excellent judgment and taste in placing the burden of the narrative whenever possible upon Walker's own writings, but at the same time he avoids the dullness which too frequent and continuous quotation often creates. The biography presents a faithful and sympathetic portraiture of a man who had exceptional charm and personality and a marked influence in every movement with which he was associated.

DAVIS R. DEWEY.

Richard Olney and his Public Service. By HENRY JAMES. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1923. Pp. xiii, 335. \$5.00.)

It would be hard to find two characters in American history less likely than Grover Cleveland and Richard Olney to quarrel over credits. Neither posed for the future biographer. Neither thought much about his place in history. Each faced his daily dozen of hard tasks, with grim Puritan conscience, determined to do his duty regardless of either its attractive or its unpleasant features.

It is a merit of Mr. James's biography that he does not seek to make a case for Mr. Olney. Frankly he admits the latter's limitations, his lack of social habits: "He attached no intimates." He "worked in a seclusion which was somehow honored without being elaborately protected". "His active principle was at war with everything soft and affectionate." And, in equal measure, he points out the lack of the gentler virtues: "Olney was perhaps endowed with more than the ordinary man's capacity for obstinacy and resentment."

The author emphasizes also many excellent qualities: good judgment—with certain exceptions, which are neither concealed nor camouflaged—ardent loyalty to his chief, perfect honesty of purpose, and unfailing diligence. "His contribution to the Administration", writes Mr. James, "was neither political influence nor popular prestige, but just his native ability and unqualified loyalty."

With respect to Mr. Olney's title to lasting fame, Mr. James says frankly: "What Olney did in Washington during those years is what is worth considering. Nothing else in his life will matter much to posterity." Serving "a chief who encouraged initiative and always won devotion", he was expected to give the public the benefit of his judgment as well as of his other qualities; and in the three great tests which public life offered him, the Chicago strike, the Venezuela dispute, the general arbitration treaties, he showed initiative and courage, and most historians will agree also that his biographer's addition of "wisdom" is

not too strong. Indeed, particularly in the case of the arbitration treaties, "vision" is the proper word to apply.

The book's high-water mark is reached in the chapter on the General Arbitration Treaty. In this field Mr. James seems particularly at home. He sees clearly the wider implications of each item in the ambitious Cleveland-Olney programme, which was nothing less than "to make all disputes *prima facie* arbitrable, and whenever an exception was to be made . . . to have it depend wholly upon Congress or Parliament rather than upon the Executive or upon the tribunal's own view of preliminary questions". "If war and not arbitration", wrote Olney, "is to be evoked [*sic*] in the settlement of an international controversy, the direct representatives of the people, at whose cost and suffering the war must be carried on, should be properly charged with the responsibility of making it."

Of the 197 pages of text, printed in large type, thirty-four are devoted to labor problems, the Coxeyites, the Chicago strike, and the labor unions. Fifty-seven pages are devoted to the Venezuelan case and the settlements associated with the adjustment of that famous dispute. The remaining hundred and six pages are divided between personal items, law cases, the Hawaiian case, and the Olney-Cleveland policy with regard to the Cuban Revolution.

The first seven appendixes contain a valuable collection of hitherto unpublished documents, many of them of considerable historical importance, arranged to correspond, in general, with the chapters of the text.

Appendix VIII. contains a brief list of articles concerning Richard Olney, and a much fuller list of Mr. Olney's own writings, which consist chiefly of magazine articles, addresses, campaign letters, etc.

The book is a judicial and scholarly study of a man who ably filled two Cabinet offices and declined two other federal offices of prime importance.

ROBERT McELROY.

Alaska: a History of its Administration, Exploitation, and Industrial Development during its first Half Century under the Rule of the United States. By JEANNETTE PADDOCK NICHOLS, Ph.D. (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1924. Pp. 456. \$6.00.)

ALASKA is unique among the continental acquisitions of the United States in that no idea of its ultimate statehood has been widely held. It was acquired hurriedly and without forethought, and has been greatly neglected for half a century. The utmost impression it has made upon popular consciousness has been that of a generous park, the haunt of the fur seals, and the scene of polar romances. It is known that there are few native Indian residents, and it has not been believed that there were many white inhabitants who took political life seriously. The possible exploitation of its mysterious resources has more than once aroused a

ripple of attention, but not enough to save Alaska from the indifferent mercies of a Washington bureau.

So little is accessible concerning Alaska that this well-informed volume is welcome in spite of its deliberate and self-imposed limitations. Being a history of Alaska during its rule by the United States, it contains no detailed account of the Russian province or of its diplomatic relations with Britain. There is not even a narrative of the transfer to the United States, although the scandals that have been connected with that transfer and the sentimental suggestions that have balanced it with Russian friendship in the Civil War make a critical study much to be desired. At the other end of the story, the volume closes with the territorial act of 1912, and we are given no account of either the struggle of Alaska with home rule or the federal experiments conducted there in the building of railroads and the management of mineral and timber lands. In many respects the book might have been a brief in support of the passage of the territorial act, and touched up later for publication after a publisher was found. It is an attractive volume, with an admirable note on the sources, and with the Clark style of "contents" instead of chapters. There is also a good map.

No other episode reveals the ineptness of the United States as an imperial governing agency better than that of Alaska does. When it was purchased, the United States had for nearly a century been administering colonies without developing either a colonial office or a group of trained colonial specialists. The failure to develop such an office was due to the fact that the American territories filled rapidly with large local populations quite capable of self-government and fully determined to enjoy it. Federal judges and governors were appointed and turned loose with little to guide them but their consciences and the *Revised Statutes*. Indifferent to the administration of all the territories, Congress was so little concerned over Alaska that no law was passed for its government until 1885, eighteen years after annexation; there was no delegate in Congress until 1906. Not until 1912 did Alaska receive even the degree of home rule involved in a full territorial establishment.

Miss Nichols goes into great detail upon the factional fights over territory, statehood, and the jobs. She has much to say of Guggenheim and Anti-Guggenheim, without making it clear what conservation really meant or clearing up the facts and principles involved in the Taft-Balinger affair. Her book is a history of petty politics; but it is a good history, founded upon real sources and intelligently put together.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

History of the Union Pacific: a Financial and Economic Survey.

By NELSON TROTTMAN. (New York: Ronald Press Company.
Pp. vi, 412. \$5.00.)

WRITERS have somewhat neglected the history of the larger railroad companies in the United States, although the field is a fruitful one and

should command the interest of students of transportation and of history. Of the companies which have been written up, the Union Pacific has received the most attention, mainly because of its relations with the federal government. In spite of this earlier work, Mr. Trottman's book presents the first reasonably comprehensive account of the activities of the Union Pacific. The volume under review describes the initial construction of the railroad, its subsequent financing, the activities of Jay Gould and Charles Francis Adams, the failure of the Union Pacific in 1893 and its subsequent reorganization, the policies of Mr. Harriman, and the relations of the Union Pacific to the Hill lines in the North and to the Southern Pacific in the South. This is not quite the whole story, but it is enough to give a clear picture, and is probably as much as the available source-material will justify.

Only a few comments are necessary. First, as to the extent of the author's contribution to existing knowledge. Most of what is new in the book under review relates to the period in Union Pacific history subsequent to the completion of the road and prior to the reorganization of 1898. On this period, and notably upon matters touching Gould's connection with the road, the material presented here is fuller than in any other secondary account. There is less that is new in other sections of the book, although the author has consistently gone to the sources, and his point of view is often interesting even when he deals with matters which are, in general, known.

So far as the reviewer can determine, the narrative is in almost every instance accurate. Evidently the manuscript has been carefully checked. Attention may be called to a slight error in the statement of the net earnings of the Union Pacific, July, 1886 (p. 190), and to the observation (p. 6) that prior to 1862 the national government had been following a policy of making large grants to railroad companies. Technically this last statement is not correct, although the error is perhaps more technical than real.

The reviewer would also like to point out that, contrary to the author's opinion, the preponderant feeling of the state of California is not now antagonistic to the Southern Pacific Company. The attitude of the California Railroad Commission at the time the Union Pacific first sought to lease the Central Pacific, then under the control of the Southern Pacific Company, reflected this fact. The attitude of the California commission was also influenced by the theory which the commission entertained regarding the undesirability of competition in the railroad business and by the practical difficulties which attended the separation of the Central Pacific and Southern Pacific lines in California. There are many reasons for this change in public opinion regarding the Southern Pacific upon the Pacific Coast, but there is little question, for the moment at least, about the fact. It is probably unfortunate for the Union Pacific that the change has come about.

By and large the author has produced a book which is well worth reading. It is conscientiously done, with no apparent bias, and constitutes a distinct addition to the detailed works upon the economic history of the West.

STUART DAGGETT.

Recent Changes in American Constitutional Theory. By JOHN W. BURGESS, Ph.D., J. U. D., LL.D. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1923. Pp. xi, 115. \$1.75.)

THIS small book—an apparent valedictory from Professor Burgess to “the more than ten thousand pupils whom [he has] been privileged to instruct in the evolution of political history and the principles of political science and constitutional law”—verges somewhat on the Cassandra-like. By its very exaggeration of statement, however, it may serve to waken thought as to the present tendencies of our Congressional legislation and of our judicial decisions. Its thesis is that since the Spanish War—“a turning point in our political and constitutional history”—(and especially since 1914) this country has been trending towards “governmental autocracy”, towards “the extinction of the constitutional immunities of the individual against governmental power, the obliteration of the constitutional distinction between Sovereignty and Government, and the possible subordination of National sovereignty and independence to a World State”. As proof of these tendencies (not all of which will be regarded as evil by many of us) and as instances (singularly diverse, it must be admitted) of the transformation in the principles and in the practice of our constitutional government, Professor Burgess dwells upon the “democratic Caesarism” of President Roosevelt; the unlimited power of taxation of the government vested by the adoption of the Sixteenth Amendment; the adoption of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth amendments; the League of Nations and the international tendencies denoted by it; and finally the decisions of the Supreme Court upholding the validity of the Selective Draft Act and of the Espionage Act (the latter statute being termed by Professor Burgess “governmental despotism”). As to the rather extreme assault by Professor Burgess upon the Espionage Act and alleged suppression of free speech by the decision of cases thereunder, it should be noted that his criticism is chiefly directed at the language of the amending act of May 16, 1918, whereas over ninety per cent. of the cases were, in fact, based on the original act and not on the amendment (which, by the way, has been now repealed). With reference to the other attacks by Professor Burgess on the tendencies of the Supreme Court since 1898, few persons will agree to the statement that the court is ceasing to be “the defender of the constitutional immunities of the individual against governmental power”, or that it “has come under the spell of war and socialism”. Certainly, recent decisions as to the amendments relating to search and

seizure have enforced that vital protection of individuals to a degree never before afforded. Neither its Stock Dividend nor its Minimum Wage Law decision can be said to favor governmental power at the expense of the individual; for these decisions have been severely criticized for failing to sustain such power. Nor are its recent decisions sustaining the war powers of Congress and of the President one whit more extreme than were decisions in analogous cases during and after the Civil War. In this connection, Professor Burgess ought not to forget that he himself, writing in 1890, was one of the few supporters of the doctrine that the court erred, in 1867, in the famous *Milligan Case*, in denying to Congress the power to institute military tribunals to try civilians. Careful students of the Supreme Court's history will note that while throughout its history the court has, in general, shown a tendency to support the national sovereignty at the expense of state authority, it has at all times been much more sedulous than Congress in maintaining individual rights granted or guaranteed by the Constitution. This book, therefore, while stimulating, is hardly convincing. General tendencies cannot be proven by citation of so few particular instances or by instances discussed in so biased a manner. Professor Burgess suggests a remedy for assumed evils in amendment of the Constitution by popular conventions rather than by state legislatures. If, however, the people, through their present agencies, have relinquished their own liberties to the extent assumed by him, one may well question whether a change in the form of the agency through which the people may act would be of much avail.

CHARLES WARREN.

The Mexican Nation, a History. By HERBERT INGRAM PRIESTLEY, Ph.D., Librarian of the Bancroft Library and Associate Professor of Mexican History at the University of California. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1923. Pp. xxiii, 507. \$4.00.)

DR. PRIESTLEY has given us an excellent book in *The Mexican Nation*. He has brought to his task wide study in the Mexican field. It is not too much to say that possibly he has given us the best book thus far published touching the nation as a whole.

The bibliography upon which his work rests requires seventeen pages to recite; nothing escaped his drag-net. However, it is doubtful whether a book of this character should be published without concurrent references—they are there for the student who cares to go further into the subject, and they need not break into the continuity of the story.

Dr. Priestley's attitude towards the Mexican nation is sympathetic. He does not belong to the "blood and thunder" variety, carrying at his staff the flag of "manifest destiny", etc., so far as the Anglo-Saxon's adventure into the Southwest is concerned. He does not believe in ag-

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gression; we almost fear he is too much of an idealist to interpret in terms of the twentieth century the course of Mexican history.

His line of approach to his subject is only partially correct. He apparently supports Bernal Diaz in his dictum, that "the conquest of New Spain was the work of a social element and not of individuals". This premise is not sufficiently inclusive. Some of us believe that the conquest of New Spain was not an attack led by a social element, but that it was rather the breaking in of the doors of a new world led by the aggressive peoples of western Europe. All of which is part and parcel of a programme quite beyond the power of mere man to alter or divert.

Again, the reviewer must take issue with Dr. Priestley in possibly the most fundamental thing underlying his book, and that is the assumption that the Mexican peoples have been frustrated in the evolution of a democratic government through the machinations of individuals and the aggressions of Anglo-Americans and Europeans. For example, he says (p. xv), referring to the Diaz régime: "The struggle for rational forms of government adapted to the needs of the people stopped, while a programme was initiated which promised more rapid returns, greater splendor, and more solid appearance of success. . . . But his success was transitory because he set personal ambition against the trend of his country's history ever since independence by denying it the political evolution which had barely begun at the fall of Maximilian."

Dr. Priestley belongs to that school of historians which has submerged as far as possible economic considerations. He is not an economist at all, because he writes: "The foreigner built railroads, opened mines and farms, but he took his money away, and only a small residue went to benefit the Mexican nation in taxes and higher wages." This statement, of course, is unsound. What count is taken of the hundreds of millions of investments? His whole discussion of the economics underlying the changes wrought through the employment of foreign capital in Mexican life is incomplete. How could an economist, for example, affirm that Mexico became an "eighteenth-century colony", economically, of the United States? Strong as were the ties between the two countries, the facts of course show on their face that Mexico is very much dependent on Europe in economic matters, and has been since the first foreign loan was extended to the struggling Mexican government by English bankers.

The inheritances and traits of the Mexicans are certainly more Latin than Anglo-Saxon, and surely the Latin civilization has had much more to do with the unfolding of Mexican political life than has the American, in spite of the fact that the Mexican tyro politicians patterned extensively after the political mechanisms of the United States.

In conclusion, it strikes the reviewer that Dr. Priestley has narrowly missed giving us a *chef d'oeuvre*. His diagnosis of the Mexican War, the Maximilian episode, the reforms of Juarez, the reign of Diaz, together with the subsequent embroilments that afflicted the country under

Huerta and Carranza, have been admirably stated. It does seem, however, to take up the Doctor's "biological" argument, that he, like a great many writers on Mexico, mistakes the ability of the Mexicans to take over democratic customs and institutions. The mass of Mexicans is still unlettered and lacks the necessary traditions upon which to build sound democratic institutions. These things will come only with time—centuries perhaps.

W. F. McCaleb.

Historia de la Iglesia en México. By P. MARIANO CUEVAS, S. J. Volumes I. and II. (Tlalpam, D. F., Mexico: Impr. del Asilo "Patricio Sanz". 1921, 1922. Pp. 493; 528. \$20.00.)

THE scholarly industry of this notable Jesuit historian has already produced several important works. Among them are: *Documentos Inéditos del Siglo XVI. para la Historia de México* (1914); *Cartas y otros Documentos de Hernán Cortés* (1915); and *Documentación Eclesiástica Mexicana, Colección Cuevas* (n. d., 7 v.). The latter is a series of photographic reproductions in folio of important manuscript materials from the archives of Seville, Paris, and Mexico. Of the work of Father Cuevas the Mexican historian Genaro García, himself well known for painstaking scholarship, wrote in highly complimentary terms in spite of his widely divergent point of view concerning the Church in Mexico.

In the *Historia de la Iglesia* Father Cuevas attempts a synthetic treatment, not elsewhere available, of the most important agency in New Spain's sixteenth-century civilization. Interpretations of the social history of the epoch of the Conquest are indeed not wanting, such as the monumental work *México á través de los Siglos*, by a group of liberal historians headed by Vicente Riva Palacio, or the *Mexico, its Social Evolution*, produced under the editorship of the learned Justo Sierra. But valuable as these are, it need not be iterated that they emphasize rather the emancipation of Mexico from Spain and the Church than her primitive indebtedness to them. Histories of the Church there are, too, in abundance, and of the religious orders the writings are legion; but the defect of each is either too great antiquity, over-zealous partizanship, limited scope, or tedious prolixity. None of them have the width of view or the orientation or the mechanical apparatus of scholarship which characterize the present work.

In his prologue the author declares that he would have preferred, if left to his own choice, to call his work "An Essay", or "Notes on the Church History of Mexico"; such a title would no doubt have commended itself to the foreign, non-clerical reader, for the assimilation is not perfect, nor the synthesis complete. But for him who desires to steep himself in the lore of the first great civilizing agency which operated in North America these thousand pages written *con amore*, but scientifically as the writer conceives his task, form the best available ma-

terial. Other points of view, if correctives be sought, may readily be had.

The first volume gives an illuminating picture of Anáhuac before its evangelization, followed by an account of the early work of the Church down to 1548. During this period came the first Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians. Notable workers among them, Archbishop Zumárraga, Bishop Vasco de Quiroga, and the fiery Las Casas, have their labors duly recorded, and there are accounts of the problems of Indian management, the erection of the first dioceses, the activities of the early Inquisition, and the establishment of the first charitable and educational institutions. Volume II. discusses the consolidation and amplification of the fundamental institutions. The episcopacy, the first three councils, the cathedral chapters, the parish clergy, the Church in social questions, relations of Church to government are the main topics. There are also treatments of the formal Inquisition, the university, the life of the Christian family, and the early northern missions. A number of the less well-known clergymen of the period are noticed in biographical chapters.

It could not be expected that such a work would fill the need for a social history of the sixteenth century in New Spain. But for a portrayal of the influence of the Church no one equipped for the work as is Cuevas has yet undertaken it. His book will long stand pre-eminent as the best example of modern interpretation of the period of the Conquest. The critic may point out the lack of an interwoven thread of political and economic history; he may add that the work is too highly subjective. It is indeed an *ex parte* account, with a visible leaning toward emphasis on the work of the orders as contrasted with that of the seculars. Among the regulars the Jesuits are, not surprisingly, accorded a transcendence that might not have been accorded by the pen of a lay historian. But with all discounts for subjectivity, the present generation is deeply indebted to Father Cuevas for his synthesis.

The volumes have many structural excellencies unusual in histories written in Mexico. There are general bibliographies at the first of each volume, special bibliographies for each chapter, useful documents reproduced in appendixes, and a fair working index. The text is embellished throughout with half-tone and line illustrations from the codices, unpublished documents, and Mexican paintings.

HERBERT I. PRIESTLEY.

MINOR NOTICES

The Life of the Ancient East: being some Chapters of the Romance of Modern Excavation. By Rev. James Baikie, F. R. A. S. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1923, pp. xiv, 463, \$4.00.) The title of this book is misleading, because it suggests an account of the manners and customs of the peoples of antiquity, whereas it presents mainly the more

spectacular results of exploration and the more striking deeds of certain eminent rulers of the past. To write the life of ancient peoples would require long and detailed study in a different direction, including all accessible material, much of which actually comes from the common people and is now buried in technical journals published in many languages. Such material is already a considerable mass and constantly growing.

Such books as this, however, serve a useful purpose in popularizing the results of scholarship and in laying them before large numbers of people.

After an introductory chapter on the work and its methods, five chapters are devoted to Egypt, two to Babylonia, one each to Assyria, Troy, Greece, Crete, and Palestine. Except in one case, all the chapters are named after some ancient city, as, Abydos, the Holy City of Egypt, and the Dawn of History; Nineveh and its Robber Kings. These titles have the snap of captions of newspaper articles, but serve to attract attention and fix a definite idea in the mind of the reader. Of course, they are one-sided, and others equally descriptive might be chosen. Nineveh was more than the home of robber kings, and was not the only ancient city worthy of that name. It would be equally true and more distinctive to call it "city of art and literature". That Tutankhamen was thought worthy of having a chapter bear his name was perhaps inevitable, in view of recent events in Egypt.

Only one chapter is devoted to Palestine, and this is concerned with one site, Gezer. It is a pity that some distinctively Israelite ruin could not have been found. This lack is now made good by the publication of the *Harvard Excavations at Samaria*, just issued by the Harvard University Press (1924).

The brief bibliography in most cases gives only surnames of authors and titles of books, without full names, date, or place of publication. This is regrettable, since the bibliography is meant as an aid to "further study of subjects dealt with".

Some readers will wish, in case of quotations, which are not rare, that the author had seen fit, occasionally at least, to give volume, page, and name of book cited.

The author appears to have a good acquaintance with his subject, and the impression made by the book is that he reports his authorities correctly. The difficulty of testing this point, owing to lack of references, has just been indicated.

It is a pity to repeat a misleading statement (p. 249, top) about the arrangement of the writing on the Hammurabi Code. The correct statement is: The writing is in short perpendicular lines, reading from above downward, and arranged in horizontal columns. The first line in each column is on the right; the second, on the left, etc.

The work is illustrated by thirty-two well-selected, full-page photographic reproductions of ancient scenes, and is provided with a sketch map and an index.

DAVID G. LYON.

Social Life in Ancient Egypt. By W. M. Flinders Petrie, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.B.A. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1923, pp. ix, 210, \$2.00.) In six chapters Professor Petrie discusses the Framework of Society, the Administration, Rights and Wrongs, Private Life, Supplies and Commerce, Constructions and Defence. This book, like the author's *Arts and Crafts in Ancient Egypt*, will doubtless be widely read, for no other confined to just its subject has yet appeared. But on all the themes of the several chapters more reliable information is available—in such works as Professor Breasted's *History of Egypt* and especially the new edition of Professor Adolf Erman's *Aegypten und Aegyptisches Leben im Altertum*, reworked by Professor Hermann Ranke, which appeared in 1923. The trouble with the Petrie method is that established facts and the author's theories are inextricably interwoven, and readers not trained in Egyptology are liable to be misled. The English style leaves much to be desired, even such clauses occurring as this: "although every one is free to change their occupation as they prefer" (p. 11). But especially we object to the spirit that in the table of "approximate dates" labels the author's own dates "by the Egyptians" and the alternative dates "by Berlin"! The last designation is not even strictly accurate, as the dates given coincide with Mr. Breasted's rather than quite with those of the Berlin historian, Eduard Meyer. The book is the forerunner of a larger work, *Descriptive Sociology of Egypt*, which Professor Petrie is preparing under the terms of the will of the late Herbert Spencer, and this fuller work will give the references lacking in the small book under review.

La Civilisation Égéeenne. Par G. Glotz, Membre de l'Institut, Professeur d'Histoire Grecque à l'Université de Paris. [*L'Évolution de l'Humanité*, dirigée par Henri Berr, IX.] (Paris, La Renaissance du Livre, 1923, pp. viii, 471, 15 fr.) This book belongs to that very interesting series on the evolution of humanity, of which some eight volumes have already appeared and of which I have already reviewed Jardé's *La Formation du Peuple Grec* (*American Historical Review*, XXIX. 112.) The book contains a general introduction on such subjects as the sea, soil, climate, productions, the excavations, chronology, the Aegean peoples, the neolithic and chalcolithic periods, the age of bronze and the first Cretan hegemony, the second Cretan hegemony, the Mycenaean hegemony, and the Dorian invasion. Then follows a readable and accurate account of the material, social, religious, artistic, and intellectual life, with eighty-seven figures, three maps, and four plates, and a good bibliography and index.

The excavations in Crete, where as long ago as 1878 a modern Greek by the significant name of Minos Kalokairinos established the site of King Minos's Cnossus, and on the mainland of Greece at Tiryns, Mycenae, Dimini, Korakou, Zygouries, etc., have now yielded so much material for the Minoan civilization that we can draw some very important

historical conclusions. It is remarkable in reading Professor Glotz's book to see how much we really now know about physical types, costumes, armor, architecture, even about the family and about the government, about agriculture, industry, commerce, and international relations in the early civilization in the Aegean, although we are not yet able to read any of the inscribed documents of that time. We now have a fairly complete picture also of the aniconic as well as the anthropomorphic Aegean divinities, the Minoan places of worship, their ceremonies, their cult of the dead, their religious games, especially the bull-fight. We have many examples of their painting, though not a bit remains of Polygnotus or Apelles. We have their beautiful jewelry, gems, and hundreds of vases, as well as their still undeciphered language. For this period archaeology is the only history, and Professor Glotz's book compares favorably with the similar book in English by Hall on *Aegean Archaeology*, which covers the same field of history.

A peculiar mistake occurs on page 15 where Schliemann is credited with the belief that the sixth stratum at Troy was the city of Priam, whereas Schliemann firmly believed that Homer represented such early history that the second city must be the Homeric city. It was Dörpfeld who proved that there were five cities before Homer's. On page 377 we miss a reference to Caskey's publication of the Gothic-like chryselephantine statuette of a Cretan snake goddess in Boston (*American Journal of Archaeology*, XIX. 237 ff.). To the bibliography should be added Poulsen, *Der Orient und die Frühgriechische Kunst*, and Staïs, *Collection Mycénienne*. English readers will quickly correct "Bryn-Maur" and the wrong initials of Mr. Wace.

DAVID M. ROBINSON.

Greek Life and Thought: a Portrayal of Greek Civilization. By La Rue Van Hook, Ph.D., Professor of Greek and Latin in Barnard College, Columbia University. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1923, pp. xiv, 329, \$3.50.) Attempts to sum up the meaning of Hellenic civilization for the benefit of our superficial generation grow apace. Beginning some forty years ago in Germany with two well-known series of *Handbücher*, the movement has passed to the interpretative stage in France, England, and this country. R. W. Livingstone's *Pageant of Greece*, W. C. Greene's *The Achievement of the Greeks*, and Professor Van Hook's work are the latest—the last two the ablest—of these interpretations.

Although Van Hook's treatise presents nothing that scholars did not know before, it is a notably thorough and solid compendium of facts belonging to many branches of classical philology and archaeology. The ambitious scope, as well as the conciseness of treatment, is shown by the fact that in three hundred pages he has included chapters on Athens and its monuments, the Greek house with its furniture and utensils,

sculpture, athletic sports and national festivals, political, social, and economic conditions, writing and books, Greek literature, education, the theatre, philosophy, religion, and science. The author very properly concentrates his attention upon Athens, in which converged and from which radiated most of the achievements of the Greek genius which still exert an influence on Western civilization. Well-selected translations from Greek authors of many periods enrich the exposition.

In a work so comprehensive it is inevitable that statements should occur which the specialist may query or which, he may think, require qualification. The universal negative in the proposition that "no accurate census was ever taken of all the elements forming the population" is an example. Accurate is a term which we should apply with diffidence to a United States census, and it should be explained that "all the elements" include women and children, whose numbers we can determine only roughly by the law of averages. Our records are, as every one knows, fragmentary, but there was a fairly thorough enumeration in 445 and in 309 B. C., the latter, certainly, including a count of aliens and possibly of slaves. I think, too, that Professor Van Hook has exaggerated somewhat Plato's disparagement of democracy.

These, however, are minor points. The total achievement is a handbook of great utility, and will make an excellent complement to Professor Greene's work. The latter emphasizes the interpretation of the facts, with less attention to imparting information about them, and indulges in fuller comment on their significance; Professor Van Hook's work abounds in facts, neatly and attractively set forth, without eloquence, but with an obvious sympathy, too reticently expressed.

The illustrations, in general, are chosen wisely, but it is a pity that a better map of Greece could not have been provided. It does not include the islands or Ionia, and is, therefore, useless for locating the places mentioned in the account of the literature, philosophy, and sculpture. There is a good index, and an excellent bibliography makes footnotes unnecessary.

C. B. GULICK.

Roman Politics. By Frank Frost Abbott, Kennedy Professor of Latin Language and Literature at Princeton University. [*Our Debt to Greece and Rome*, no. 30.] (Boston, Marshall Jones Company, 1923, pp. vi, 177, \$1.50.) The series of which the book under review is one is a praiseworthy undertaking and the individual volumes should not be subjected by the scientifically inclined reviewer to a microscopic analysis. The volumes are not long and the matter is purposely written to be interesting. So much the more credit, therefore, to the writers and to Hadzsits and Robinson, the editors, for bringing out a classical series of short and interesting books which are very creditable pieces of work as well.

Frank Frost Abbott has already made notable contributions to the study of Roman politics. His previous work falls easily into two classes: the formal scientific, and the sympathetic and interestingly humane. This little volume bears the mark of a personal struggle to be both at once.

There are four chapters in the book of quite unequal length. The last, *Some Final Reflections*, which in five pages sums up the political indebtedness of our modern politics to Rome, gives a list which seems to demand more pages of proof than this little book has. It is no light matter to give the Romans credit for "the representative principle, the jury method of trial, civil law, a clear conception of the rights of a citizen, a jealous regard for law and tradition, a comprehensive system of political checks and balances, model systems of local government and civil service, and methods of governing, civilizing, and unifying alien peoples which have never been equalled". Yet Professor Abbott succeeds in making out a very clear case for all these claims.

The problems common to the Romans and to modern peoples, such as labor problems, elections, the recall, pensions and bonuses, which fill the third chapter, are interesting and give much food for quiet thought. It is, however, in the second chapter, *Roman Politics and Modern Politics*, where the author discusses and compares the individual and the state, constitutions, the legislative and executive branches of government, the judiciary, taxation and finance, and especially the conception of citizenship, that Professor Abbott strikes his real stride.

The book is sound, and deserves its growing popularity.

R. V. D. MAGOFFIN.

The Danegeld in France. By Einar Joranson, Ph.D., Instructor in History in the University of Chicago. [Augustana Library Publications, no. 10.] (Rock Island, Ill., Augustana Book Concern, 1923, pp. 248, \$1.50.) This is by far the most extensive work which has yet been devoted to the Continental complement (and perhaps antecedent) of the tributary payments which were exacted from the English by the Danes in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Under the somewhat questionable title of *Danegeld in France*, the author has made a detailed investigation of all the recorded tributes (twelve or thirteen in number, and extending over the period from 845 to 926) which were taken by the Norse invaders from the West Frankish Kingdom. Each payment is "studied in detail with a view to determining (1) the reasons for it, (2) the methods by which it was raised, and (3) the effect it may have produced". The work is "intended to be exhaustive", so far as payments on a national scale are concerned. A more summary chapter deals with certain local payments of tribute; and there are brief appendixes on Danegeld in Frisia, in Brittany, and in Lorraine and the East Frankish Kingdom. There is a full bibliography but, unfortunately, no index.

The chief difficulty encountered in a study of this sort is, of course, the paucity of materials; and in this respect Dr. Joranson's plight is far worse than that of students of Danegeld in England. For the West Frankish Danegeld never developed into a regular annual tax, as did the English; and it has left no records which are to be compared in importance with the *Inquisitio Geldi*, Domesday Book, and the early Pipe Rolls. Consequently there are many questions concerning it which really are not susceptible of definite answers. In such cases the temptation to resort to hypothesis and even to conjecture is natural and understandable, but it is a temptation which ought to be restrained more rigorously than Dr. Joranson has done. The book is valuable, but it would have been distinctly better had it been more concise, less occupied with theory, and more closely confined to demonstrable fact.

C. W. DAVID.

Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, fourth series, volume VI. (London, the Society, 1923, pp. 211.) Of six articles in this volume, the first is one on the Relations of Great Britain with Guiana, by the Reverend G. C. Edmundson. Readers of British writings on this subject will not be surprised to perceive from Mr. Edmundson's narrative that all the acts of aggression were on the part of Venezuela. No aggressions by Great Britain; the meek inherit the earth not by any activity on their part, but by Scriptural promise; yet, to put the matter briefly, it is observable that the official *Colonial Office List* of 1885 gave the area of British Guiana as 76,000 square miles, that of 1886 as 109,000 square miles, while in the edition of 1922 it stands at 89,480. Mr. Edmundson says: "On this [appeal from Venezuela] the American President, Grover Cleveland, without approaching the British Foreign Office, and with no knowledge of the rights of the case or of the grounds on which the British government had taken decisive action, issued a decree, December, 1896, appointing a Commission to investigate the merits of the boundary dispute", and so on. One who can write thus may well be asked to read the twenty-five historical and argumentative pages of Mr. Olney's instruction of July 20, 1895, a copy of which Mr. Bayard left with Lord Salisbury on August 7. Next, on the basis of Lord Egmont's diary, Mr. R. A. Roberts writes interestingly of the Birth of an American State (Georgia). Mr. Charles Johnson of the Public Record Office describes the System of Account in the Wardrobe of Edward I. The wardrobe at that time including nearly all the spending departments, its system is of much importance to the student of administration. Dr. Emilio Re of the Archivio di Stato in Rome presents some documents found in his archives relating to the English Hospice in Rome in 1365. Sir Charles Firth gives in a most entertaining manner a large amount of information on the Portraits of Historians in the National Portrait Gallery. The volume concludes with the Alexander Prize Essay, by Mr. E. W. Hensman, on the East Midlands in the Second Civil War, May to July, 1648.

Honors and Knights' Fees. An Attempt to identify the component Parts of certain Honors and to trace the Descent of the Tenants of the same who held by Knight's Service or Serjeanty from the Eleventh to the Fourteenth Century. By William Farrer, Litt.D. Volume I. *Bidun, Chokes, Visdelou, Wahull, Curcy, Peverel of Nottingham.* (London, Spottiswoode, Ballantyne, and Company, Limited, 1923, pp. ix, 296.) Future historians of honors in their more general political and economic aspects, scholars interested in genealogy, and those editing manuscripts and seeking to identify the names of many good knights who have long since worn "their brave state out of memory" will be grateful to Dr. Farrer for these arduous studies in the descents of lands, of which this volume is the first fruit. His purpose, as he states it none too fully or clearly in the preface, is to trace the descent of tenements comprised in honors and knights' fees that remained more or less intact for a considerable period of time downward from Domesday Book, to trace also the descent of the multitudinous subtenants of these fees, and also upward and downward from the earliest extant evidence the tenants of all tenements of which an honor formed at a later date than Domesday Book was composed. His authorities are the printed sources in which information as to the descent of fees would be naturally sought for, and such of the manuscript sources of the same character as he has had time and opportunity to use. Of the six honors treated in this first volume, Peverel, Chokes, and Wahull are given as examples of the type of honor that remained for some time without disintegration, Bidun and Curcy as examples of accumulated tenements erected into honors at a later date. The method adopted is to give first an introductory statement of the general descent, in which the reader may wish there had been contained some of the more general conclusions Dr. Farrer must have drawn from the great amount of evidence he has collected, and thereafter sections dealing with the descent of the individual fees, each section ending with references to the sources from which the information has been compiled. An index of persons and places gives the key to the use of the book, although one may perhaps regret the omission of some of the less important place-names within the vill. A subject index, while entailing much additional labor, would have added to the value of the work. The mass of detail is so great that it is difficult to find the valuable information the book contains on various feudal matters, reliefs, serjeanties, *terrae Normannorum*, and the like. The fairly constant relation suggested between pre-Conquest owners and Norman tenants would be of interest, if proven.

N. NEILSON.

The Story of the English Towns: Halifax. By J. S. Fletcher. (London, Sheldon Press, 1923, pp. viii, 116, 4 s.) This little volume of barely over one hundred pages does not pretend to be more than a popular account of the famous Yorkshire borough. Halifax still lacks an

adequate history of its later development since the standard work by John Watson was published in 1775 and a later edition, begun by F. A. Leyland in 1869, has never been brought up to date.

Mr. Fletcher is an enthusiastic antiquarian, who is already known to students of English municipal history through previous volumes in this series. He writes interestingly of the Yorkshire towns, and the present volume is readable and highly informative. It consists of twelve brief chapters of topical character, which deal with political, social, and religious aspects of Halifax history from early times to the middle of the last century. Especial attention is given to notable personages connected with the borough in medieval and modern times, but little effort is made to deal in any detail with borough government. The chapters on the Poll Tax of 1379, the Parish Church, and Parish Records have more intrinsic historical value than any others in the book.

A list of eighteen books and articles on Halifax history is given under the heading of "Authorities" and there are eight worth-while illustrations. The index is sufficient for the size of the volume.

N. M. TRENHOLME.

Abstract of the Bailiffs' Accounts of Monastic and other Estates in the County of Warwick under the Supervision of the Court of Augmentation for the year ending at Michaelmas, 1547. Translated from the original roll by W. B. Bickley; with an Introduction by William Fowler Carter, F.S.A. [Publications of the Dugdale Society, vol. II.] (London and New York, Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1923, pp. xxi, 180, \$11.70.) Among the schedules in the submission of the accounts of the "particular receivers" of crown lands (whose jurisdiction approximated a county) before the Court of Augmentations were included abstracts of the bailiffs' accounts of their revenues which had been collected from them by the particular receivers, and accounted for locally in the county town before the auditor of the court for the county. Such an abstract for Warwickshire for the year ending Michaelmas, 1547, owes its present publication by the Dugdale Society to its escape from its place in the Augmentations Office of the Exchequer, and its eventual deposit in the Reference Library in Birmingham.

The chief interest of the Dugdale Society is the local history of Warwickshire, and the two indexes exclusively devoted to place-names and names of persons show that this volume is primarily intended for antiquarians, genealogists, and local historians. The accounts give the names of tenants, and the rents they paid for their farms, together with an enormous amount of detail about rectories impropriate, rents of free tenants, rents reserved to the crown, perquisites of courts including heriots and reliefs, fees of officials and servants, tithes, church repairs, mills, highways, bridges, the grantees, great and small, of the royal estates, the extent of the monastic lands still in the possession of the crown on Henry VIII.'s death, and the extent of the non-monastic

estates in Warwickshire. There is some material here for the more general economic and social history of sixteenth-century England, but the value of the book for this purpose is lessened by the fact that it is merely an isolated document. Its high cost—\$11.70, American price, for 202 pages—may prevent any companion volumes.

FREDERICK C. DIETZ.

Correspondance de Bonaventura Vulcanius pendant son Séjour à Cologne, Genève, et Bâle, (1573-1577), précédée de quelques Lettres écrites avant cette Époque. Publiée et annotée par H. de Vries de Heekelingen, Docteur ès Lettres. (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1923, pp. xv, 562, 12 gulden.) The world of scholarship, too, has something of the infinitely small and infinitely great which the rhetoric of science celebrates. Here are five hundred pages of Latin letters covering a small portion of the life of a sixteenth-century Netherlands classicist to whom Sandys's three-volume history of scholarship devotes three lines. His name was DeSmet, but he thought Vulcanius sounded better. The letters are edited from archives by Dr. de Heekelingen for the light they throw on the history of the years 1573-1577 and as a *parergon* of his partly published studies on Geneva as the nursery of Dutch Calvinism.

The letters are quite readable for anyone who is in the mood to read humanistic Latin. They give an interesting picture of the relations between the classical scholars of the day. Among Vulcanius's correspondents are Théodore de Bèze, Thomas Eraste, Henri Estienne, Adrien Van der Myle, Christophe Plantin, and some sixty others. Too much space is given to the affair of the writer's dismissal from the chair of Greek at Cologne because of the enmities aroused by a street brawl, and too much for all but specialists to the Greek and Latin texts which he or his friends are editing or hoping to edit. Especially interesting are the references to the Stephanus Plato. There is much also about printers and the art of printing. The publishers, he often laments, have been made timid by war and the hard times.

Political or military news is often added at the close of the letter. He follows the progress of the King of Poland, the future Henri III., of John of Austria, who has made a five years' truce with the Turks and is coming to Belgium with thirty thousand men, and of the return of the Spanish troops from the Netherlands. He has stories of the purchase of a fine mummy from an Italian, who took it from a Turkish ship at the battle of Lepanto, and of a charlatan who promised to turn the whole of Lake Geneva into vinegar. Most interesting are the letters on the siege of Antwerp and the "Antwerp Fury".

The first letter would supply a text for a disquisition on easy-going modern education. It is a little essay on liberal culture and the choice of a profession, written at the age of eighteen to a fellow student. The young Vulcanius in fluent Latin and with a somewhat conscious display of Greek proverbs and familiar quotations weighs the claims of

philosophy, polite letters, and the three professions on a youth at the cross-ways of life. It is a school-boy performance. But what school-boy of to-day could even approximate to it?

The editing or the proof-reading has been a little hasty. There are too many misprints and some false readings which a professional eye would have detected. On page 70 *usura* must be *iactura*. And on page 211 for *Sardo interim canet Circe* read *surdo* etc. The Greek quotations, as too often in books of to-day, are deplorable. Some of them are hopelessly "pied". The editor should have taken counsel with a classicist. There is a Greek colloquialism known to Aristophanes—οὐδὲ γρῦ, not a bit, not a syllable. Vulcanius writes on the twenty-fifth of December, 1576, "ex Antwerpia ne Gry quidem [adfertur]"—not even a syllable of news from Antwerp. The editor comments on this capitalized Gry: "Cette désignation revient à plusieurs reprises. Il a été impossible de l'identifier." Any classical colleague would have told him.

PAUL SHOREY.

The History of the Mansion House. By Sydney Perks, F.S.A., F.S.I., F.R.I.B.A., City Surveyor to the Corporation of the City of London. (Cambridge, University Press, 1922, pp. xv, 228, 67 plans, 35 s.) Mr. Perks has added greatly to our knowledge of medieval and early modern London. He has had access to all the unpublished material in Guildhall and at the Mansion House, with the result that we are presented with a noteworthy compilation of sources relating to the site of the Mansion House and to its construction. Over one hundred plans, plates, and illustrations add to the value of the text and provide an interesting pictorial record.

The first eight of the thirteen chapters of this work are strongly historical and archaeological in that they deal with the history of that region of London in which the Mansion House was later situated. The stream or natural sewer of the Walbrook, which ran into the Thames near the site of the Mansion House, is discussed and described at length, also the Stocks Market, St. Mary Woolchurch, St. Stephen (Walbrook), the statue of Charles II., and the Great Fire of 1666 and its effects. This last is dealt with in a special appendix. The last five chapters contain a most detailed and minute record of the purchase of the site of the Mansion House, the plans for the building, its erection, and later additions and improvements.

While valuable for its original material, this volume is written in an unattractive style and the author has not digested his facts. His knowledge of London place-names leaves something to be desired, and a list of his authorities would have been welcome. The index is barely adequate and omits a number of important names of persons and places mentioned in the text.

N. M. TRENHOLME.

The Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, from the Beginning of the Long Parliament to the Opening of the Trial of the Earl of Strafford. Edited by Wallace Notestein, Professor of English History in Cornell University. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1923, pp. xix, 598, \$7.00.) The works of Sir Simonds D'Ewes have long been an invaluable mine for scholars. His authoritative *Journal of all the Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth* was published in 1682, thirty-two years after his death, his less important *Autobiography* appeared in print in 1845; but his most significant contribution, his *Journal* of the first five years of the Long Parliament, though utilized by notable historians of the period, from Carlyle to Gardiner, has hitherto remained in manuscript. While the latter incomparable critic appraised it as "inestimable", its bulk and the condition of the text were well calculated to give pause to any but a valiant scholar. Professor Notestein estimates that to print the whole would require eight substantial volumes in quarto; moreover, D'Ewes during the course of the proceedings and debates hastily jotted down rough notes, but much was happening, he was called away for frequent committee meetings, and he left many gaps. His aim was to make a fair copy of his notes at night and to insert in appropriate places speeches which were printed in separates, but the evenings were all too short and the hard-pressed diarist was often all too weary to carry out his laudable intentions. Moreover, some of the separates, if they were ever inserted, have gone astray.

It has been the task of Professor Notestein to arrange this combination of more or less incomplete narrative and rough scribbles, to explain allusions which may be obscure, and to add extracts from other contemporary accounts—four of them never previously used—for the purpose of supplementing or clarifying the version of D'Ewes. This meticulous seventeenth-century antiquary has given us a wonderfully complete and lifelike reproduction of what happened in the House of Commons while one of the most momentous of revolutions in history was being shaped. He puts before us the conflicts, the hesitations, and enables us to see into the minds of the participants. Furthermore, much new light is thrown upon parliamentary procedure, upon disputed elections, upon the lives of the clergy, the workings of the courts, and various other matters of import. It is to be hoped that the competent editor will be able to carry on the *Journal*, which in the present volume goes only from November 3, 1640, to March 20, 1641.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

The Revolutionary Idea in France, 1789-1871. By Godfrey Elton, Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company; London, Edward Arnold and Company, 1923, pp. vii, 191, \$3.50.) This bold and brilliant essay is based on two general conceptions, an interpretation of the Revolution of 1789 as essentially a strug-

gle for equality and order and a sharp contrast between it, so conceived, and the economic revolutions of 1848 and 1871.

The first of these theses is at least open to question. The author maintains that the first revolution had been "an instinctive national movement, which existed long before 1789, to establish order, primarily in the interests of the middle classes, and equality, primarily in the interests of the peasant"; that the period from October, 1789, to August, 1792, had no significance for the essential movement; that the Terror was important because of its effective abolition of feudalism and its return to a strong central government and a vigorous foreign policy; that Napoleon, by developing and completing these two achievements, "was the Revolution" (p. 70); and that 1830 was a sort of postscript in which feudalism was finally routed and "the revolutionary settlement" (equality and order), henceforth a conservative force, becomes "unquestionably the basis of modern France".

There is much that is incontestable in this view of what the Revolution actually accomplished. It is by no means so certain that it is what it set out to accomplish. Mr. Elton explicitly denies Aulard's insistence on the Declaration of Rights as the essential programme of the Revolution, he scornfully waves aside the "ideologues" of the Constituent Assembly, and, taking his stand on the popular notion that the Frenchman is indifferent to liberty, he quietly eliminates the first word of the republican motto. But surely the ideologues, with the whole eighteenth century behind them, had as much authentic tradition behind their generous programme as lay behind the more limited aspirations for administrative efficiency and equal landownership. One may feel, with Aulard, that the Declaration is the complete statement of aims only a part of which were actually realized. There were important sections of French opinion at the time of Napoleon which certainly did not regard him as the full expression of the Revolution. One feels a sort of Hegelian artificiality in the author's philosophy of history; he seems to force his facts to fit into his formulas. Reading backward from what transpired, he compresses the spirit of the great Revolution into its genuine but somewhat cramped achievement, as though it had never dreamed larger dreams.

The contrast he draws between the first and "the second Revolution" (as he calls 1848 and 1871), with emphasis on the socialistic elements of the latter, is sound. But why seek the spirit of the first revolution in the part of it which endured and that of the second in the part which perished? And, for Aulard at least, the second is the natural development of the first, rather than its antagonist.

In any case, the book is immensely stimulating and well worth reading.

EUGENE N. CURTIS.

Le Comte Molé, 1781-1855: sa Vie, ses Mémoires. Par le Marquis de Noailles. Tome deuxième. (Paris, Édouard Champion, 1923, pp.

491, 20 fr.) The second volume of the memoirs of Comte Molé bears out the promise of the first and whets the appetite for more. It is already evident that this work will occupy, when finished, a high place in that branch of historical literature which the French have cultivated with such signal success. Written with great distinction and scrupulous care, it will not only reward the historical investigator with many a new fact and with many a keen observation but will beguile away his time most pleasantly, so full of interest is every page, so masterly the exposition. We are in the company of a man of wide and varied cultivation, of large knowledge of the world, of close and intimate contacts with the personages and circumstances of his time, of mellow and reflective mind. With an altogether exceptional personal equipment, intellectual, moral, and social, M. Molé was eminently fitted not only for useful and intelligent action in the field of high politics but also for narrating what he had seen and done himself, and what he had seen others do.

This particular volume covers a period of two years and throws much light upon the political history of France from the fall of 1815 to the fall of 1817. The ministry of the Duc de Richelieu is its outstanding theme, and that ministry lives again with extraordinary vividness in these very vital pages. One of the features of the book is the remarkable series of descriptions of the men, big and little, who played their parts upon the public stage. M. Molé is a penetrating, practical psychologist, and one would be compelled to search far and wide for a gallery of historical portraits that could be compared with his in subtle observation, in just and measured delineation, in sharp and piquant characterization. Drawn with a master hand, and with singular coolness and detachment, are these sketches of Louis XVIII., the Duc de Richelieu, Decazes, the Duke of Wellington, Pozzo di Borgo, Pasquier, Lainé, Talleyrand, Royer-Collard, Madame de Staël, and many others. Events, too, as well as persons, receive appropriate and illuminating treatment. And what is of course the main purpose of the book, the presentation of the activities of Count Molé himself during these years, is accomplished with discretion and without exaggeration and increases our admiration of the individual and the statesman.

The competence and the tact of the editor of this valuable volume are attested on every page.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

Diplomatic Portraits: Europe and the Monroe Doctrine One Hundred Years Ago. By W. P. Cresson. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1923, pp. xix, 371, \$4.00.) Dr. Cresson's book is not a piece of intensive scholarship. It does not pretend to be. It is a series of sketches of the more salient diplomatic personalities of the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The figures treated are the Tsar Alexander, Napoleon, Castlereagh, Talleyrand, Madame de Krudener,

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Gentz, Metternich, Chateaubriand, John Quincy Adams, and James Monroe.

The sketches are written in a pleasant, even an attractive, style; whatever else may be said of them they certainly are not dull. As is to be expected, there is a certain unevenness of tone. The least successful tend to degenerate into a rehearsal of events already familiar to the student of the period; the best, those on Alexander and Gentz, for example, convey a strong sense of the personality of their subjects.

Throughout the work Dr. Cresson has turned again and again to the comparison between the events of the Napoleonic period and its aftermath, and the events of the Great War and of the peace negotiations that came in its train. He has done this in a stimulating way, and has at least suggested an approach to the study of the first quarter of the nineteenth century which is capable of a treatment at once more scientific and more profound.

In a sense the subtitle of the book, *Europe and the Monroe Doctrine One Hundred Years Ago*, is a misnomer. Only the last of the essays can be said to deal with the Doctrine in the strictest sense. But this essay is one of the best. It performs two distinct services to the literature of the subject. In the first place, it brings out, what has never been adequately treated, the development of the Anglo-American entente in the months previous to the famous interviews of Canning with Rush. Those interviews have too often been considered as the beginning of a story which ought to be carried back to the earlier conversations of Adams and Stratford Canning, and to the whole trend of British policy in the spring and early summer of 1823. In the second place, Dr. Cresson gives to President Monroe the honorable place in the evolution of the Doctrine to which, in the opinion of the reviewer, he has a right.

For the kind of thing it assumes to be, the book is distinctly good.

Catholicism and the Second French Republic, 1848-1852. By Ross William Collins, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. CXII., no. 1.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1923, pp. 360, \$4.00.) This monograph rests chiefly upon careful use of the French printed sources. Almost everything in print of any considerable importance which came from French Catholic circles during the period of the Second Republic has been laid under contribution. Non-Catholic sources, while not neglected, have not been so fully utilized. The manuscript materials, of which only a small amount has been employed, come chiefly from the Normanby papers at the British Foreign Office.

Dr. Collins has done his work thoroughly, dispassionately, and with a clear conception of the points which deserve attention. His investigation has not brought to light anything striking which was not already known. It has, nevertheless, enabled him to set forth in a clear, orderly, and interesting way the reasons why the Catholic Church welcomed the

coming of the Second Republic and why it afterwards cast its powerful influence in the scales against the Republic. Dislike of the July Monarchy rallied the Catholics to the Second Republic in its early days. Fear of the Socialists, gratitude for the support given to Pius IX. against the Roman republic, and a strong desire for the freedom to establish and control Catholic schools which was secured in the Falloux Law were the leading reasons why they afterwards aided Louis Napoleon in destroying the régime they had helped to create. Catholic influence, though important, was not in either instance the decisive factor, nor were the Catholics all of one mind.

The literary style, while decidedly above the usual level of doctor's dissertations, exhibits the common trait of too much quotation. The author's views, which might well have been given considerable prominence, are almost smothered by his excerpts from the sources. In the chapter on the Roman expedition a good deal has been included which has very little bearing upon the subject of the monograph.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

Pierre Curie. By Marie Curie. Translated by Charlotte and Vernon Kellogg, with an Introduction by Mrs. William Brown Meloney and Autobiographical Notes by Marie Curie. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1923, pp. 242, \$2.25.) This is a delightful book. It marks one of the few instances in which the proverbially humdrum life of the student of physical science, together with its austere ideals, has been made intelligible, and Madame Curie's sketch is all the more fascinating as the result is reached unconsciously. Years ago, on receiving from the Curies their handsome magnetic researches, printed with the customary elegance in the *Annales de Chimie et de Physique* (1895) and in the bulletin of the Société d'Encouragement pour l'Industrie Nationale (1898), it seemed obvious that experiments of such precision must have been made in correspondingly opulent surroundings. To my amazement I now learn that only by the thrifty husbandry of moments of scrap leisure could the research be completed; that it was done on sufferance, as it were, in a laboratory improvised in hallways and out-of-the-way places, with the authors largely their own mechanics. The same sureness of vision, the same tireless intellectual adventure gave radium to the world. Of course, old Scheele in the discovery of chlorine had little more than discarded medicine bottles at his disposal; but that was all very long ago. When we learn that what, in view of the new revelations which it has originated, will rank with the most important discoveries (1902) of the twentieth century, when one reads that radium was isolated in dish-pans and other kitchen utensils, in a leaky shack in the back yard throughout years of needless labor, one involuntarily pauses to grasp the situation. Surely among the well-informed colleagues of the Curies there should have been some influential person

whom such an anachronism would have appalled. It was not so. The sequel was to be more like the tale of Cinderella in a scientific setting; for when the turbid waters cleared and crystallized, the old shed shone with a light that none had seen before. It must have been a period of exaltation with the Curies, such as comes to few.

However, in the midst of it, the life of Pierre Curie, hurrying as he probably was with his mind intent on the problems of the day, was suddenly snuffed out by a passing automobile. It was an irreparable loss to France. She hardly guessed the scope of it. With Curie, the genius of a new epoch took her flight elsewhere; for the profound philosophy, which has revolutionized physical science and to which the behavior of radium is like the key unlocking the evidence, was left to the inspiration of Englishmen, Germans, Danes, and Dutchmen. True, there has been an endeavor to make amends. A handsome pension has recently been settled on Madame Curie. We note, however, that contemporary scientific honors are not unliable to be stimulated by political opportunism. It seems to have required the ardent enthusiasm, which welcomed Madame Curie's American visit, to kindle a belated *noblesse oblige* in France.

The reader will be grateful to the translators for their graceful text, and the introduction adds relevant information to give the book completeness.

CARL BARUS.

Labour in the Coal-Mining Industry (1914-1921). By G. D. H. Cole. [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *Economic and Social History of the World War*, James T. Shotwell, General Editor.] (Oxford, Clarendon Press; London and New York, Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1923, pp. xiv, 274, \$2.50.) "No one can say that the story which I have to tell", writes Mr. Cole, "is pleasant or encouraging. It begins with the remarkable achievements of [the first years of] the war. . . . Follow the period of State control, the struggles . . . of the later war period. Next comes the season of high hopes, of plans for the re-organization of the industry, of expectations of good things to follow the coming of the peace. But soon the ugly ulterior consequences of war reveal themselves, and the story ends on a note of disillusionment, if not of positive despair. . . . It leaves both the mining industry and the workers employed in it—unemployed—in a condition far worse . . . than for generations past."

For the war-time the book merely supplies a running commentary from the labor viewpoint to Sir Richard Redmayne's official-minded companion volume. For the "season of high hopes" and the Sankey Commission it adds nothing to the work of the late Arthur Gleason. Its real value lies in the clear-eyed picture of what followed. The hopes themselves rested partly on the first effect of the peace, an immensely profitable demand for British coal abroad; this soon gave way to the collapse

of Continental markets and therefore of British industry. Mr. Cole's chronicle confines itself strictly to particular things done and undone—the government's sudden abandonment of control of the industry just as its fortunes changed; the dissensions and defeats of labor; the rejection of the "profits pool" that might have lessened the miners' sufferings by recapturing for wages part of the winnings of the fortunate mines in an industry in which profits varied widely both with good luck and good management. But it carries throughout a sense of the inevitable disaster befalling a nation whose life depended so largely on economic arrangements that had been shattered by the war and the peace. It is a chronicle written by a social theorist and therefore a chronicle with implications.

CARTER GOODRICH.

African Questions at the Paris Peace Conference; with Papers on Egypt, Mesopotamia, and the Colonial Settlement. By George Louis Beer, Chief of the Colonial Division of the American Delegation to Negotiate Peace. Edited with Introduction, Annexes, and Additional Notes by Louis Herbert Gray, Secretary to the Colonial Division. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1923, pp. xlv, 628, \$6.00.) Because of the more or less unsuccessful results of the participation of the United States in the Paris Peace Conference there has been a tendency among writers to underestimate the value of the services of the experts attached to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace. This scholarly volume, prepared for the press after Mr. Beer's death by his associate, Mr. Gray, is a convincing corrective. As the reviewer is one of those who erred in this way, he does not hesitate to say that part VI. of Mr. Beer's book, dealing with the recommendations for the settlement of the colonial questions, is a welcome revelation to him. Although he had the privilege of discussing at length all these moot questions with Mr. Beer during the Peace Conference, he had not before realized how great an effect Mr. Beer's admirably documented reports had upon the American Commission and upon the Peace Conference as a whole in influencing the African decisions as embodied in the Treaty of Versailles and the protocol of St. Germain.

The scope of this book is limited to the former German colonies, Middle Africa, and Egypt. But in the course of his discussion of problems that arise in specific regions, and under particular conditions, Mr. Beer has gathered together testimony and opinion and has expressed judgments which throw light on questions affecting every part of Africa.

This fact, combined with the erudition, accuracy, and insight of the author, makes his book the best guide that the reviewer has ever read for the student of the history of Africa during the last half-century. To the historian, Mr. Beer's book affords access to information concerning problems and events of recent African history, digested and impartially

stated, that could not have been accessible before except by wide and laborious reading. On his shelves the reviewer has most of the books to which Mr. Beer refers, but, although he has himself written a book on the European colonization of Africa, he confesses frankly to not having read to as good advantage as Mr. Beer had done. He wishes that he had had access to the papers in this volume before he wrote. And he feels sure that several other writers on Africa in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries would make this same statement had they the opportunity to review Mr. Beer's volume.

There are only two suggestions that we have to make to the editor when he prepares the next edition, that he enlarge and classify his bibliography and that he make his very thorough index general, abandoning the idea of indexing by parts.

HERBERT ADAMS GIBBONS.

My Rhineland Journal. By Henry T. Allen, Major-General, U. S. A. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1923, pp. xvi, 593, \$6.00.) This volume presents parts of the journal of the chief commander of the American forces of occupation on the Rhine, from June 27, 1919, to February 19, 1923. It is the author's thought "that they may be useful in forming a better estimate of the men and measures beyond our confines" and "may reveal the practicability and advantages of a frank policy based on fair play and a square deal". It is likely that the volume will serve his ends. It certainly records a multitude of interesting facts concerning the American occupation and the consequent dealings with many representatives of other nations. It is likely, however, to be a matter of surprise to many readers that the author, however able and successful, should think it important to record, at such length and in so minute detail, his social successes, luncheons and dinners and hunts which he attended, and the flattering things said to him by persons of high position. A very great reduction of this part of the book would have caused it to contribute much more effectively to the knowledge of what is really important in the transactions in which the author was engaged, for that contribution, if one can disentangle it from the encumbering social record, is large.

The Regime of the International Rivers: Danube and Rhine. By J. P. Chamberlain, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. CV., no. 1.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1923, pp. 317, \$3.50.) The international control of rivers, which has long been practised, has, of late years, with the strengthening sentiment toward internationalism, become a subject of special interest. There are those who have used the joint administration of the Danube, probably the most advanced international achievement known to history, as a text from which to preach wider international organization. In the

book before us, there is very little indeed of this tendency. The author recognizes that an institution of this kind is worth studying as a likely avenue of progress toward the international society, need for which has long existed. And this is quite natural as his material was in part collected for the use of the Inquiry created by President Wilson for the study of questions affecting the peace.

Mr. Chamberlain has approached his work from the standpoint of a lawyer. Taking up the Danube and Rhine river controls consecutively, he gives a careful and informing account of the geography of the river basins and of the historical stages of the joint control, closing each with a chapter on the effect of the World War and the treaty of peace. There is a valuable appendix giving a summary of important river treaties including, besides the Rhine and Danube, the Elbe, Pruth, Po, Scheldt, Congo, and Memel rivers. There is a brief bibliography.

Thorough, informing, accurate, clear in exposition, the work of Mr. Chamberlain is a worthy achievement and is easily the best summary of the history and treaties affecting the joint control of the Rhine and Danube. It would have added to the value of the study to give a summary of the principles which have been applied in joint administration of rivers and of their historical development. The principle that the control is restricted to riparian states, and that they shall be equally represented, and the later principle, that non-riparian states may participate in the control, are indeed mentioned in the course of the pages. A special discussion of these principles, and of such other matters as river tolls, police, ownership of vessels, maintenance of wharves, dredging, and lighting would have made the meat of the subject more accessible and serviceable, and would have made this excellent work much more interesting.

EDWARD KREHBIEL.

Modern Chinese History; Selected Readings. A Collection of Extracts from various Sources chosen to Illustrate some of the Chief Phases of China's International Relations during the past Hundred Years. By Harley Farnsworth McNair, Ph.D., Professor of History and Government in St. John's University, Shanghai, China. (Shanghai, Commercial Press Limited, 1923, pp. xxxvii, 910.) The purpose of this volume is indicated by the title. The preface tells us that it grew out of Professor McNair's work in St. John's University. The selections were made for the guidance of his students and during the course of three years' instruction. The author says: "In the process of learning history the student should, from the outset, be led to realize that it is a subject not to be read from the point of view of one person only. The danger of the text-book habit is that the student—and, it is to be feared, sometimes the instructor—falls into the error of thinking that he knows 'ancient', or 'medieval', or 'modern' history when he has covered a year's work with a text bearing these words on the title page."

The extracts are from public documents and historical works, some of which are not accessible to the ordinary reader, and are of value as enabling the student to compare and weigh conflicting or varying accounts of an incident or opinions upon questions of importance. He begins with a translation of the mandate of the Emperor Ch'ienlung addressed to King George III. The condescending attitude of the emperor and his assumption that King George was eager to acquire the civilization of China make this most interesting reading.

The whole period of modern Western intercourse with China is very well covered. The most recent documents consulted are those connected with the Washington Conference. Brief comment connects the selections and gives them proper setting. At the end of each chapter a list of supplementary readings is given, covering the period concerned.

The selections and the supplementary readings are all in English. For the American or European student this may be considered a defect, but it is to be remembered that the book was primarily intended for Chinese students, who have as a rule an acquaintance with two languages only, Chinese and English. Since the eighteenth century, moreover, British relations have been dominant in the Far East and the most important literature of this period is in the English language.

The work will be found to be of considerable value by students and instructors in the United States and, indeed, by all who are interested in the international relations of China, which are year by year becoming increasingly important.

E. T. WILLIAMS.

Imperial Control of the Administration of Justice in the Thirteen American Colonies, 1684-1776. By George Adrian Washburne, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of European History, Ohio State University. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. CV., no. 2.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1923, pp. 191, \$2.00.) The author's study of the attempts made by the British government to regulate and control the colonial judiciary naturally falls into two sections: one dealing with the establishment and regulation of the judicial machinery within the colonies, and the other covering the appellate jurisdiction of the Privy Council. In connection with each of these phases of his subject, Dr. Washburne has arrived at two interesting conclusions: first, that the British government made a conscious effort toward a uniform system through regulation by commissions and instructions to the governors and by other means; and second, that in its capacity as a final court of review the Privy Council was on the whole scrupulously impartial as between the various interests represented in cases before it.

One feels, however, that Dr. Washburne has not exhausted the possibilities of investigation in either field. It is certain that he has not

studied the entire body of commissions and instructions, in so far as they relate to the judicial machinery in the colonies, and more important still, has not attempted to discuss, with any fullness, the degree of success with which they were carried out. To cite a single example, one wishes that he had expanded his few paragraphs dealing with the controversies that arose over the right to create the courts and to appoint their officers, and had paid some attention to the important and illuminating dispute which arose in New Hampshire, a dispute here entirely overlooked.

The author's study of the appeals to the Privy Council constitutes by far the larger portion of the work. But it conspicuously fails in presenting any clear picture of the way the system operated and of the respective functions of the Board of Trade and the Committee of the Privy Council; while in its arbitrary classification of the cases on appeal, its unnecessarily elaborate statement of the details of the cases, which only serve to confuse the reader, and its frequent and somewhat inexplicable unwillingness to discuss or even to mention the final outcome of many important cases, it is less satisfactory than is Professor Schlesinger's article on "Colonial Appeals to the Privy Council" in the *Political Science Quarterly* for 1913, a study of the subject to which Dr. Washburne has added little of importance.

As a contribution to our knowledge of the early American judicial system and of British colonial policy, this monograph is disappointing, but in its very inadequacy it is suggestive of opportunities for further investigation.

Quaker Education in the Colony and State of New Jersey: a Source Book. By Thomas Woody. (Published by the Author, University of Pennsylvania, 1923, pp. xii, 408, \$4.50.) This is another study of Quaker education by Professor Woody, similar to his volume on *Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania* (reviewed by the present writer in this *Review*, XXVI. 838-839). Such studies are much needed in order to correct a common fallacy, the notion that education in America, especially before 1840, was obtained principally through the agency of public schools. It is of course true that, outside of New England, church and private agencies were much more important and widespread than those of a public character. This book gives a history of the relation of one of the religious denominations of New Jersey to education. After a chapter on Quaker educational policy, the next four chapters give a detailed chronological account of the various schools in the four principal Quaker quarters or districts, *viz.*, Shrewsbury, Burlington, Salem, and Haddonfield. Other chapters are on the education of the poor, "inferior races", apprenticeship education, school control and organization, curriculum and text-books, and the transition to state schools.

The educational views of George Fox, William Penn, Anthony Benezet, John Woolman, and other Quaker writers are briefly set forth,

those of the London yearly meeting, and those of Philadelphia and Burlington, both the Orthodox and Hicksite branches of the Society. The chapters giving the history of individual schools are very detailed, with numerous extracts from original sources. It is shown that the Quakers did not develop their schools till rather late in the colonial period, mostly after 1760, and that nothing approaching a system arose till after the Revolution. The Quakers were not very rigid about sending their children to their own schools; a considerable number attended those of a mixed character, or the district or common schools (*cf.* tables on pp. 125, 133, 194, 225, for dates 1840 to 1900).

The attitude of the Friends as individuals, and that of the meetings, towards the problem of the education of the poor is of interest, because of its relation to the development of the notion of free public education for this class. Of interest also are the chapters on the use of the system of apprenticeship as an agency of education, and those showing the efforts of the Friends to educate the negroes, bond or free, and the Indians. In general it is shown that the ideal of the leaders for a "guarded religious education", elementary in character and secured through prohibitions and limited association, was carried out, though the children of other denominations often attended Friends' schools. The idea of extended education was based on religious philanthropy, which finally yielded to the broader conception of public education.

As in the case of his former work, the author is more interested in the facts than in the attempt to explain them. So, little attention is given to the setting—to the political, social, or economic factors that determined progress or lack of progress, or to the relation of his story to other educational movements. Within these limitations his work is excellent, and is one of the few books in this field that is not likely to be rewritten.

M. W. JERNEGAN.

Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789. Edited from the Original Records in the Library of Congress by Gaillard Hunt. Volumes XXIV., XXV., 1783, January 1-August 29, September 1-December 31. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1922, pp. vii, 1-528, 529-1050.) The publication of these *Journals* was begun in 1904, under the editorship of Dr. Worthington C. Ford, chief of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, continued (beginning with the volumes for 1780) under his successor, Dr. Gaillard Hunt, and by 1914 had reached the completion of the volumes for 1782. At that point the exigencies of the war brought a cessation of publication, which has persisted for practically a period of ten years; for, although these volumes bear the imprint date 1922, their actual issue did not take place until the beginning of the present year. Meanwhile Dr. Hunt withdrew from the Division of Manuscripts, having already, however, carried forward these two volumes to page proof. The final work of publication has, accordingly, been performed by Mr. John C. Fitzpatrick, assistant chief of the

Division of Manuscripts, and Miss Emily B. Mitchell, assistant in the division. Mr. Fitzpatrick has furnished a prefatory note, wherein is set forth briefly the more important aspects of the proceedings of Congress during the year.

The year 1783 has special significance as the year of the peace. The preliminary articles of peace were signed in Paris November 30, 1782, and ratified by Congress April 15 following. The definitive treaty of peace was signed September 3 and, although it was received by Congress on December 13, the ratification by Congress was held up a full month (until January 14, 1784) for want of representation from nine states. Treaties with other powers also were made during the year, and the United States began to assume a definitive status among the nations of the world. It followed upon the establishment of peace that Congress must bring its activities, both civil and military, to a peace basis, and these problems occupied much of its attention. As for the army, there was a past as well as a future to be settled, and the ominous threats from unpaid troops, and presently an actual mutiny of one body of them, threw upon Congress one of its most serious problems. The problem of finding revenues sufficient to meet the urgent requirements of Congress had already in the preceding year reached a stage that was essentially crucial, and during the year 1783 the most earnest efforts of that body were directed toward finding the solution. Two other matters that have important places in these proceedings are the cessions of western lands and the search for a permanent seat of the central government.

As to the character of the *Journals* of this period, as shown by a comparison of this edition with the older printed *Journals*, it will suffice to refer to what was said in the pages of the *Review* (XX. 670) respecting the volumes for 1782.

E. C. B.

The Constitution of the United States: an Historical Survey of its Formation. By Robert Livingston Schuyler, Associate Professor of History in Columbia University. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1923, pp. viii, 211, \$1.50.) In publishing the substance of his lectures, delivered during the summer of 1921 at Cambridge University and the London School of Economics and Political Science, Professor Schuyler has made available to the general reader a satisfying account of the formation of the Constitution of the United States. The book is satisfying because it is a well-balanced, well-written, and well-printed story of "a human achievement which has not grown less significant with the passing of the years".

In the first chapter the author reviews American experiments, pointing out the importance of federalism in world-politics, its development during the colonial period, and its embodiment in various plans for union prior to the adoption of the Articles of Confederation. Chapter II. is

devoted to the Confederation—especially its lack of unity and its political and economic weaknesses. The facts here presented are intended to explain the movement leading up to the Federal Convention of 1787 and the work of the Fathers in framing the Constitution. The spirit of the convention, the remedies proposed, the compromises of the Constitution, the agreement among the Fathers, and the revolutionary character of their work are clearly set forth in chapter III.

In discussing the struggle for the adoption of the Constitution in chapter IV., attention is called to the fact that “the Federal and Anti-federal parties were composed of groups based principally upon economic interests”. Ratification “marked the consummation of the revolution which the Federal Convention had begun”. In all candor the author declares that “the establishment of the Constitution can be justified only by the right of a people to change their form of government without legal authority, the right which had been invoked in 1776, the right of revolution”. Here also the author reviews and disposes of such “fanciful” and “preposterous” explanations of the origin of the Constitution as (1) the view that it was modelled upon the English Constitution, (2) the claim that it was of Dutch origin, and (3) the theory that it was the product of an individual mind.

The book concludes with a chapter on the launching of the Constitution in which the author disposes of the “myth” that it “was launched in a calm sea, unlashd by the winds of partisanship”. Among the factors subsequently making for the apotheosis of the Constitution, the author mentions (1) the wave of commercial prosperity upon which it was floated, (2) patriotism, (3) the “silences” of the Constitution, (4) the support given it by the clergy, the lawyers, and the school-teachers, and (5) the lack of knowledge of how it had been framed.

BENJ. F. SHAMBAUGH.

The History of Mother Seton's Daughters: the Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati, Ohio, 1809-1923. By Sister Mary Agnes McCann, M.A., Ph.D. Volume III. (New York and London, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1923, pp. xv, 321, \$4.00.) The present volume is the third of a work of four volumes which, when completed, will give a history of the Sisters of Charity founded by Mother Seton, from the early days at Emmitsburg, Maryland, to the present time. In an earlier volume Sister Mary Agnes gives the reasons why the community at Cincinnati may be looked upon since 1850 as the standard-bearer of Mother Seton's ideals; for in that year the foundation at Emmitsburg became affiliated with the Sisters of Charity of France.

The entire work is entitled *The History of Mother Seton's Daughters*, but since 1850 it deals almost exclusively with the history of the community at Cincinnati. The third volume covers the period of development of this very successful community from 1870 to 1897. During

these years Catholicity in the West and Middle West grew enormously. The parochial school idea had taken firm root and the demands for sisters to conduct the parish schools increased with each new settlement. The community at Cincinnati kept pace with the growth of Catholicity, and Sister Mary Agnes shows us an interesting picture of this extension.

Some of the most interesting passages of the book are those which give an account of the little band of sisters who went into the Far West to begin work at Trinidad, Colorado, and Albuquerque. Albuquerque was a frontier village, and even "the most enthusiastic settler would never have pictured the splendid American city of Albuquerque, with its institutions, schools and University, of to-day".

Among the names mentioned in the volume the best known is Sister Anthony. She had charge of the sisters who nursed the wounded at the front during the Civil War. St. Peter's Orphan Asylum, St. John's Hospital, and the Good Samaritan Hospital were under her direction for many years. She is still fondly recalled by the old residents of Cincinnati.

Sister Mary Agnes has written more in the form of memoirs than an impersonal historical account. She herself has had a large share in shaping the events which she describes, and while this fact is not set forth in the work still the personal touch of one who has lived the events is felt throughout the entire narrative. A striking feature of the book is the deep interest displayed, not merely in affairs of local concern to the community but in events of national importance and in the general affairs of the Church. The book offers a sturdy and touching defense of Bishop Purcell and the Very Reverend Edward Purcell in the unfortunate financial difficulties to which they fell victims.

Sister Mary Agnes with this volume, as with her previous ones, has made a contribution to the history not only of her community but of Cincinnati in general and of the Catholic events of the period. Whatever defect there is in the book comes from the fact that the author has been too much a part of the affairs she relates and is as a result not able to take the critical attitude which one at times desires.

James Henry Hammond, 1807-1864. By Elizabeth Merritt, Ph.D. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, series XLI., no. 4.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1923, pp. 151, \$1.50.) James Henry Hammond was a brilliant, if eccentric, member of that remarkable group of South Carolinians whose words and deeds excited and sometimes angered the rest of the country during most of the half-century from 1810 to 1860, for when South Carolina was nationalist to the core the rest of the country was inclined to sectionalism and when South Carolina became sectional the rest of the country turned to nationalism. Hammond's career is that of an unselfish secessionist whose one great objective was successful secession. And it so happened that

when he urged secession his state held back; and when the state urged secession he held back.

This perversity in men and events makes the study Miss Merritt has undertaken quite a problem and she has endeavored herself to be both historian and philosopher, I mean safely philosophical in her approach to her general theme. She sees South Carolina through friendly, if critical, eyes; she views Hammond in the same way; and her attitude toward the remainder of the country is that of one a little uncertain but on the whole well-informed. South Carolina sources, manuscript and printed, are most exhaustively used. The result is an excellent study, a sorrowful but useful narrative, that scholars may read with pleasure and rely upon as trustworthy.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

Richmond: its People and its Story. By Mary Newton Stanard. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1923, pp. xx, 239, \$3.50.) Mrs. Stanard gives us a series of pictures of Richmond, Virginia, chosen at such intervals as best bring out the story and show it to be a City with a Soul.

It was on Sunday, June 10, 1607, four weeks after the founding of Jamestown, that Captain Christopher Newport and the redoubtable John Smith were the first white men to look upon the present site of Richmond. Master Archer photographed the scene in these words: "Here the water falls Downe" (p. 4).

The orator, poet, and seer are all of one brood. The intuition of Patrick Henry as to the issue of the conflict with the mother country found voice in old St. John's Church, in March, 1775, when, his ear attuned to the moving forces of the world, he announced that the next gale that blew from New England would tell of the clash of arms. Just outside one window of the old church lies the grave of Colonel Carrington. He was one of the patriots that could not make his way into the tiny building; but standing at the window he listened to the heroic appeal of Henry, and turning away with the words still vibrating in his heart, he said, "When I die, bury me on this spot".

On Twelfth Street in Richmond there has just been torn down an old hospital that bore a tablet setting forth that near this spot there met in 1788 the convention that ratified the Constitution of the United States. The atmosphere was aflame with ideas. All the big batteries were moved up to position. John Marshall was there, never dreaming that his structural decisions would later fix the centre of gravity of the American government and determine the issue at Appomattox. Henry with his fiery oratory and George Mason with his solid impact withstood the phalanx that included Marshall, Madison, George Wythe, and the pervasive influence of Washington. The vote stood a majority of only eight for the Constitution.

Mrs. Stanard has touched with ardent sympathy the history of a city that has been mellowed by suffering and that has shared world impulses. Virginia has been vicarious. The mother colony, midway on the Atlantic, she has been committed by position as well as inherited political instinct to a mediatorial office in American history. Yorktown and Appomattox are wounds that she bears upon her breast. This was not an accident. It is this spiritual significance of Richmond's experiences that Mrs. Stanard, whose family has been an integral part of them, has brought out. It is a city whose history, with her sons and daughters, mounts almost into the realm of a religious emotion. In view of the meeting of the American Historical Association in Richmond in December next, Mrs. Stanard's volume is indispensable. Other histories of Richmond there are, and worthy, too; but into this single volume Mrs. Stanard has focused all the light, beauty, and romance of Virginia's capital.

Some of the high lights in the picture are the account of the three William Byrds, the slave insurrections, Marshall and his coterie of friends, the trial of Aaron Burr, the "brush with England" in 1812, the steamboat that plied on James River in 1815 at the astounding rate of four miles an hour, John Randolph of Roanoke, an exquisite study of Poe, and the story of the War between the States.

S. C. MITCHELL.

The Food Administration in Iowa. By Ivan L. Pollock. [Iowa Chronicles of the World War.] In two volumes. (Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1923, pp. xvi, 235; xvi, 239, \$2.00 each.) The author states that the purpose of this work is "to recount the activities of the Food Administration in the State of Iowa". He adds that it is important that this should be done "while the materials concerning these war-time activities are available in the original form". Whether or not this can be done with proper historical perspective might be open to question but certainly every one who has had first-hand knowledge of the treatment of the manuscripts and documents in Washington since the World War will approve of Dr. Pollock's efforts to preserve in book form at least one fragment of those records.

As a study in war organization and administration the work is a valuable one. Although disclaiming any intention of writing a history of the United States Food Administration as a whole, the author has found it necessary to devote the first chapter to a summary of that national organization as a proper setting for the detailed account of the Iowa division. Each state acted as a separate unit of the federal Food Administration and, although guided by regulations and advice from Washington, handled state problems in accordance with local conditions. Allowing for these local differences, the general organization within all the states was quite similar and a description of what transpired in

Iowa affords a fairly good picture of the workings of the Food Administration in any state.

Because of the many and diverse activities of the Food Administration a strictly chronological narrative is practically out of the question. Dr. Pollock has wisely divided the field of study according to subject-matter and, after giving an account of the Iowa organization as a whole, has discussed in more detail each of the branches of its work. He has turned for his materials to the documentary sources, primarily those in the files of the Food Administration in Washington, whither state records were sent at the close of the war. The notes and references appended to each volume form a valuable bibliographical guide for future investigators, not merely for Iowa but for the country at large.

Iowa had much of which to be proud in her accomplishments in the field of food production and food conservation and the story is well told. Dr. Pollock has not allowed himself to be blinded by state pride but has conscientiously pointed out the weaknesses and failures of the Iowa Food Administration, as well as its successes.

In addition to the bibliographical notes, to which reference has already been made, the appendix contains a list of the personnel of the Iowa Food Administration. There is a complete index. The volumes are exceptionally neat in appearance and attractively printed.

EVERETT S. BROWN.

Origin of Washington Geographic Names. By Edmond S. Meany. [Republished from the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Seattle, Washington, 1917-1923.] (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1923, pp. ix, 357, \$3.00.) This is a complete list of 2045 place-names of the state of Washington, compiled by Edmond S. Meany, professor of history in the University of Washington, author of several works on the history of that state, and editor of the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, published at Seattle. Mr. Meany's assistant in gathering the material was Victor J. Farrar, instructor in history in the University of Washington.

Pioneer settlement of Washington state began eighty years ago; exploration and fur-trading had preceded settlement by fifty years. Many place-names now in use are echoes of these several periods, and Mr. Meany's history of the names furnishes a record of much value for general reference. This book is the only general source of information yet compiled, pertaining to the local names of Washington state.

The names listed in the work are thus classified as to origin: from personal names, 824; from physical features, 399; from Indian names, 386; from other place-names, 191; from crops, trees, animals, and birds, 115; from freak names, 68; from Spanish names, 33; from American ships, 17; from British ships, 6; from Biblical names, 6.

The work uses facts drawn from many available authorities: printed histories, government records, pioneer memoirs and manuscripts, maps, diaries, legislative acts, Indian treaties, and personal letters. The data thus compiled have been appearing serially in the pages of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* during the last six years, and are now put into the form of a bound book. All work on the earlier names of the alphabet, therefore, was done some years ago, and no corrections or amplifications seem to have been made for this final publication.

The book may be criticized for errors of detail and for incomplete or suppositious information. For example: John Day, the Astorian who died in Idaho in 1820, is said to have died at Astoria in 1812 or 1813; Marcus Whitman, who was killed by Cayuse Indians, is said to have been killed by Walla Walla Indians; the name Chinook, now used as that of a town and a river, is said to have "disappeared"; the site of Vancouver, Washington, chosen by Governor Sir George Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Company in the winter of 1824-1825, is said to have been selected by Chief Factor John McLoughlin; Colville, a modern town, is confused with Fort Colville, of the Hudson's Bay Company, twenty miles distant; in the origin of Spokane, one of the earliest and best authorities is omitted, the *Henry-Thompson Journals*, and the name, originally that of Little Spokane River, is said to have been applied to the present river of that name, which was the Skeetshoo. It may be suggested that too much credence is given to local tradition and to modern interpretation of Indian testimony, which is hardly ever reliable; also to personal letters from local postmasters and others.

These criticisms, however, are incidental, and do not impair the general usefulness of this important book. Mr. Meany's enterprise and industry have created a work in advance of any competitor in his field, and in subsequent editions he may expand and enhance the references.

LESLIE M. SCOTT.

Government of the West Indies. By Hume Wrong, Assistant Professor of Modern History in the University of Toronto. (Oxford, Clarendon Press; London and New York, Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1923, pp. 190, 10 s. 6 d.) The design of this book is to trace the constitutional development of the British West Indies and to exhibit their present political problems. "It is based only on the more easily accessible of printed records, and it is intended to be no more than an outline." Mr. Wrong has achieved the purpose thus defined. He reviews social conditions before 1833 and describes the old representative system which prevailed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Characterized by wasteful friction between executives responsible to the crown and legislatures elected by freemen, the system was nevertheless a workable adjustment to a society resting on slavery. Emancipation transformed the whole economic and social order and necessitated

eventually a readjustment of a large portion of the constitutional structure. The white oligarchy, resenting emancipation, was neither disposed nor competent to achieve reconstruction. Only in Barbados, the Bahamas, and Bermuda has the representative system survived. Elsewhere crown colony government was instituted. Mr. Wrong distinguishes the varieties of such government, traces the evolution in each colony, and shows the defects of the federal experiments in the Leeward and Windward Islands.

The last two chapters outline present constitutional problems. The author canvasses proposals for consolidating the eight governments, deeming most of them impractical—including that of annexing the West Indies to the Canadian Dominion as colonies. He sketches the substantial improvement in economic status of the negroes and the meagre opportunities for their growth in political capacity. He justifies in the main the record of colonial autocracy in a society where representative government became impossible, but shares the optimism of Olivier, Wood, and others who foresee the necessity of recreating self-government. As for cabinet government no one imagines it feasible; responsibility must reside in the Colonial Office for years to come.

The brief list of authorities should have provided more guidance to the constitutional sources—council and assembly minutes, legislation, and official reports; the secondary authorities should include Egerton's paper on Jamaican constitutional development in the *Transactions* of the Royal Historical Society, fourth series, I. 190–217, and Eugene Sicé's *Étude sur les Colonies de la Couronne Britannique: les Antilles Anglaises* (Paris, 1913). It is to be hoped that Mr. Wrong's manual, brief as it is, yet sound in method and judgment, may serve as a point of departure for more exhaustive studies in West Indian history.

FRANK W. PITMAN.

Spanish Colonial Literature of South America. By Bernard Moses, Ph.D., LL.D., professor emeritus in the University of California. (New York, the Hispanic Society of America, 1922, pp. xviii, 661.) The Spanish colonial writings of the seventeenth century were perhaps equal in merit and importance to those of English America, and were preceded by a mass of interesting, sometimes brilliant, writings of the sixteenth century to which English America affords no parallel. The Spanish colonial literature of the eighteenth century would probably be judged inferior to that of the English colonies. But in any case, the whole theme deserved treatment in a form readable by those who read only English, and Professor Moses, with his remarkable learning in the whole field of the history of Spanish America before independence, has supplied the need in excellent fashion. All the important writers, whether of poetry, history, geographical description, or legal or ecclesiastical discussion, in each province and age, are noted, their biographies given, their works described, with interesting quotations, and appraised—all in

an agreeable and entertaining style. Professor Moses rightly says that, for any real understanding of South American colonial society, what men wrote of their own times or times near their own supplies material that cannot be derived from the formal documents which the modern historian most largely uses. His little book (little, for the pages though numerous are small) will not seem so important as the volumes on colonial South America which he has already given us, but supplement them in a useful and happy manner. The bibliographical data are ample, and are supplemented in an appendix by a catalogue prepared by Mr. A. H. Wykeham-George. The illustrations are excellent and the book really beautiful in appearance.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Committee on Programme for the meeting to be held next December invites the members of the American Historical Association to send it descriptions of papers they would be ready to prepare, or information regarding possible papers of other members. Brief, and possibly technical, papers for the special conferences, and papers of wider scope for the general sessions will be desired. From the suggestions thus made by members the committee will be able to select such as promise to make the programme attractive and are appropriate to the sessions or sectional meetings which it plans. Communications of this kind should be sent to the chairman, Professor St. George L. Sioussat, University of Pennsylvania, before May first.

Members are requested to take notice that the next annual meeting is to be held at Richmond solely, and *not* in part at Washington (p. 442, above); and that it will begin on Saturday, December 27.

The American Council of Learned Societies held its annual meeting in New York on January 26. Nearly all the constituent societies devoted to humanistic studies were represented, the American Historical Association by its two delegates, Messrs. Haskins (chairman of the council) and Jameson. Reports were received from various committees, notable among them being those of the committee on a dictionary of medieval Latin, of the period preceding the middle of the eleventh century, C. H. Beeson chairman, and of the committee on a proposed dictionary of American biography, J. F. Jameson chairman.

PERSONAL

Woodrow Wilson, president of the United States from 1913 to 1921, a distinguished historical scholar, and at the time of his death president of the American Historical Association, died in Washington on February 3, at the age of sixty-six. His first historical book, *Division and Reunion, 1829-1889* (1893), though it was but a small text-book in a series, exerted perhaps a stronger influence upon thoughtful American students than any other historical text-book of its time, because it laid before them, for the first time, a convincing statement of the *rationale* of both parties to the Civil War and the accompanying conflicts. His *George Washington* (1896) was a fine example of eloquent, almost epic, biography. His *History of the American People* (1902), though it remade no considerable portions of the story and showed indifference to some aspects of it that in recent years have attracted more labor than

the older themes of American political history, nevertheless was and remains a remarkable, in parts a brilliant performance, unsurpassed as a narrative for the general reader, the product of wide and careful reading, incisive but fair-minded thinking, and consummate literary skill. His public career has not yet passed fully into history; any attempt to express a judgment upon it would be premature, and at present inappropriate to these pages. But it cannot be inappropriate to remark to historical readers upon the powerful influence which his historical studies, and especially his wide knowledge of American and modern British history, exerted upon the course of his public conduct. Thus, at the climax of his career, the immense acclaim with which the populations of Europe greeted his arrival in December, 1918, was based on the perception that he saw the future of the world-order more clearly than did the run of nationally-minded statesmen; if it was so, it was because the profound student of history takes long views of human affairs where politicians take short views. American students of our subject may well remember with satisfaction which of our presidents have been the best versed in history; they may legitimately take a special pride in the greatness of the first who was a member of their profession, in his clear intellect, his masculine eloquence, his gifts of leadership, his lofty conception of his task, his stern devotion to duty, his indomitable courage.

Dr. Gaillard Hunt, chief of the division of publications in the Department of State, and noted as an historical editor and writer, died suddenly on March 20, at the age of sixty-one. After several years of service in the department named, during which he had a chief part in the reforming of the laws respecting naturalization and citizenship, he was for eight years, 1909-1917, chief of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, then returned to the Department of State to prepare its history of the World War, and since 1921 had been editor of the department's publications. From 1914 to 1917 he was chairman, and from 1914 to 1924 a member, of the Historical Manuscripts Commission of the American Historical Association; for three years he was historian-general of the Sons of the Revolution; recently he had been elected president of the American Catholic Historical Association and had been made chairman of the Knights of Columbus Historical Commission. A man of great industry, with a notable gift for writing and long experience in the editing and use of historical documents, Dr. Hunt wrote excellent biographies of Madison (1902) and Calhoun (1907), and a valuable book on *The Department of State, its History and Functions* (1914), and edited the *Writings of James Madison*, *The First Forty Years of Washington Society* (1906, letters of Mrs. S. H. Smith), *Madison's Debates*, and many volumes of the *Journals of the Continental Congress*. An excellent speaker, he gave many public addresses. He was a gentleman of the highest integrity, sturdy in character, frank and original in speech, whose genial kindness, warm affections, and lively good humor were a perpetual pleasure to a wide circle of friends.

Baron Sergius A. Korff, professor of the history of Eastern Europe in Columbia University, died suddenly in Washington on March 8, a few days after the completion of his forty-ninth year. A Liberal member of the old Russian nobility, gentleman-in-waiting to the tsar, and graduate of the universities of St. Petersburg and Heidelberg, he was for several years professor of Russian legal history and constitutional law in the University of Helsingfors, Finland. After the first Russian revolution he was made vice-governor-general of Finland. After the communist revolution he came to America, residing in Washington, and, an accomplished, lucid, and interesting speaker, gave lectures before many audiences in various parts of the country. His instruction as professor of political science in the School of Foreign Service in Georgetown University was particularly effective. His Williamstown lectures on *Russia's Foreign Relations during the Last Half Century*, published in 1922, and his Harris Lectures on *Autocracy and Revolution in Russia* (1923), have had wide influence. His service in Columbia University began only last autumn. Baron Korff was a scholar of wide knowledge, a singularly quick and facile mind, and exceptional gifts of expression. His conversation was a delight. His character and conduct showed cultivated nobility at its best, and his warm friendliness and genial happiness of spirit charmed all who knew him.

Professor Merrick Whitcomb, head of the department of history in the University of Cincinnati, died on October 12, 1923, at the age of sixty-four. He was the author of source-books of the Italian and German Renaissance; *Select Colloquies of Erasmus* (1902); *A Literary Source-Book of the Renaissance* (1903); and *A History of Modern Europe* (1903). Professor Whitcomb was a man of agreeable personality, and an inspiring and suggestive teacher.

Although few who attended the meeting of the American Historical Association at Columbus knew the fact at the time, it has since become known to many of the members of the Association that its president, Professor Cheyney, was taken with a grave illness in the last hours of the meeting. It seems therefore to be a duty, as it certainly is a great pleasure, to mention in these pages that, after a detention of many weeks in the hospital at Columbus, he has become able to return to his home. The University of Pennsylvania has given him leave of absence for the remainder of the academic year. Dr. Conyers Read is conducting courses in his place.

Dr. Frederick Merk has been appointed to an assistant professorship in Harvard University; Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger of the University of Iowa will lecture in that university throughout the next year, on American history.

Dr. Edward Raymond Turner, of the University of Michigan, has been appointed professor of English history in Yale University, and will begin his duties as such in next September.

Professor Dexter Perkins of the University of Rochester has leave of absence during the second term of the present year and will spend it in travel and research work in Europe.

Professor W. M. Gewehr of Denison University will this year teach in the summer school of the University of Colorado.

Mr. Fred Landon, formerly public librarian at London, Ontario, has been appointed an associate professor of history in the University of Western Ontario.

Mr. George Macaulay Trevelyan gave a course of historical lectures at the Lowell Institute, Boston, in February and early March, and has since then lectured at several American universities.

GENERAL

A gratifying sign of growing interest in the history of science among American students is the recent formation of the History of Science Society, formed in order to encourage studies in this field and to assure the permanency and the adequate financial support of the international journal *Isis*, so ably edited by Dr. George Sarton. A considerable membership has already been secured, and other members are of course desired. Correspondence can, for the present, be addressed to Professor David Eugene Smith, 525 West 120th Street, New York City.

The University of Oxford's Delegacy for the Extension of Teaching beyond the Limits of the University announces that, with the advice and co-operation of teachers in the faculty of modern history, they will hold, during a period of four weeks, beginning July 28, 1924, a vacation course in history designed for teachers of history and others who make a serious study of that subject. The subject of the course will be the history of the Middle Ages, with attention to such subsidiary studies as the economic and ecclesiastical history of the period and medieval political theory. The lectures will not be numerous; the lecturers will proceed usually by conference, in classes or with individuals. For particulars, application should be made to the Secretary to the Delegacy, Rev. F. E. Hutchinson, M.A., Acland House, Oxford. Applicants will be asked to state their qualifications for following such a course with profit, and the applications will be considered together at a given date, before they are accepted by the Delegates.

The *Historical Outlook* has in the January number the following articles: the Muck-Raking Campaign, by Professor C. C. Regier; and the Chronicles of America in Motion Pictures, by Professor D. R. Fox. The February number includes, besides an account of the meeting of the American Historical Association, reported by N. G. Goodman, an article by Professor Lucy E. Textor of Vassar College, entitled Belgrade and Sofia in the Spring of 1923. Among the articles in the March number are: Facts and Fallacies concerning the College Teaching of History,

by Professor S. R. Packard; and Geography in the Interpretation of History, by Bessie L. Ashton.

The editor of the *English Historical Review* has decided to include in the July number of each volume, beginning with July next, a list of the more important contents of other historical periodicals published in the preceding year and of important historical articles in other periodicals.

The French Franciscans began in January the publication of a *Revue d'Histoire Franciscaine, Recueil d'Histoire, de Littérature, d'Archéologie, et d'Art* (Paris, Auguste Picard), edited by M. Henri Lemaitre, and intended "to contain only works of erudition". It is mentioned that memoirs and documents too extensive to be inserted as articles will form a collection annexed to the Review.

The *Catholic Historical Review* for January has articles on the Apostolic See, by Bishop Shahan, rector of the Catholic University; on the Bollandists in their period of trial under Papebroch, by Dr. Aurelio Palmieri; on Father Arthur O'Leary (1729-1802), by Professor Peter Guilday; and on the question What Calvin desired of Francis I., by Professor F. J. Zwierlein.

In the *Journal of Negro History* for January, L. P. Jackson has an article on Elizabethan Seamen and the African Slave-trade; C. W. A. David one on the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793 and its Antecedents; and Justice W. R. Riddell, of Ontario, presents Some Further Notes on the Slave in Canada; but the main content of the journal is an exceedingly interesting list, derived from the manuscript schedules of the census of 1830, still preserved, of Free Negro Owners of Slaves in the United States in that year. It is an impressive showing, exhibiting many hundreds of slaves owned by free negroes, especially in Louisiana, Maryland, South Carolina, and Virginia, with intelligent comments by the editor.

The Yale University Press has published the *Origin and Evolution of Religion*, by Professor E. Washburn Hopkins.

Sir E. A. Wallis Budge has printed, under the title *Baralam and Yewasef* (2 vols., Cambridge University Press), the Ethiopic text, now edited for the first time, with an English translation and introduction, of the Ethiopic version of the well-known Buddhist story familiar to the Western world in its Christian form as the legend of Barlaam and Josaphat.

The Freedom of the Seas in History, Law, and Politics, by Pitman B. Potter, associate professor of political science in the University of Wisconsin, is published by the firm of Longmans.

In *Prisoners of War* Maj. Herbert C. Fooks, retired, traces the development of laws, customs, and regulations relating to prisoners of

war, their treatment, and their liberation. It may be obtained from the author, 723 Munsey Building, Baltimore.

The second edition of Cesare Cesari's useful manual of colonial history and geography, *Colonie e Possidementi Coloniali*, has been published at Rome (Libreria di Scienze e Lettere, 1923, pp. 237).

Journalism: a Bibliography (pp. 360), compiled by Carl L. Cannon and published by the New York Public Library, is an invaluable guide to information on that subject, and should be indispensable to all who are interested in the history of journalism. Fully half the volume consists of references to books and articles on the history of journalism and of individual newspapers, and on the biography of journalists.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Lenoir, *Philosophie Comparée et Humanisme* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, December); C. Toussaint, *L'Enseignement de l'Histoire des Religions dans les Facultés des Lettres* (*ibid.*); W. Vogel, *Ueber den Rhythmus im Geschichtlichen Leben des Abendländischen Europa* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXIX. 1).

ANCIENT HISTORY

General reviews: A. Vincent, *Chronique d'Histoire Orientale*, II. (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); M. Besnier, *Chronique d'Histoire Ancienne Grecque et Romaine: l'Année 1922* (*ibid.*).

Students of history will welcome so admirable a treatise, competent and conservative, as the excellent translation of Professor Marcellin Boule's book, *Fossil Men: Elements of Human Palaeontology* (London, Oliver and Boyd); a revised and enlarged edition of the French has also been published, *Les Hommes Fossiles*, etc. (Paris, Masson).

Professor P. Goessler, director of the State Museum of Antiquities in Stuttgart, publishes (Stuttgart, Franckh) *Primeval Man in Central Europe*, a volume of 40 plates and letterpress of 48 pages, in English, French, and German, with special attention to skulls.

The December-February *Bulletins* of the New York Public Library continue the extensive bibliography of ancient Egypt.

A distinct step has been taken toward the better organization of Hittite philological and historical studies by the foundation of a collection of publications in this field under the editorship of Dr. Frederic Hrozny, professor in the Czech University of Prague. The first number is a transcription and French translation of a great Hittite code, originating in Asia Minor about 1350 B.C. Dr. Hrozny has himself contributed this initial number of the series, which is entitled *Code Hittite* (Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1922, pp. 159, 26 plates). Another important piece of work in this branch of study is a complete bibliography of the subject from 1839 to 1922, compiled by G. Contenau and issued under the title *Éléments de Bibliographie Hittite* (*ibid.*, pp. vii, 137).

The Oxford University Press has in preparation a volume on the *Legacy of Judaea*, edited by Dr. I. Abrahams and Mr. Edwyn R. Bevan, a part of the same series in which have already appeared books on the *Legacy of Greece* and the *Legacy of Rome*. A fourth volume, on the *Legacy of the Middle Ages*, is also in preparation.

M. Eugène Cavaignac, in *Population et Capital dans le Monde Méditerranéen Antique* (Strasbourg, Istra) attempts to estimate the population and resources of the countries of the ancient Mediterranean world by ingenious but cautious calculations based on proper scientific methods.

The Year's Work in Classical Studies, 1922-1923 (London, Arrow-smith, pp. 119), issued by the Classical Association, contains, among articles relating to literature, archaeology, religion, philosophy, and palaeography, a survey of the year's output of Greek history by Dr. M. Cary and of Roman history by Mr. H. Last.

Volume XIII. in Henri Berr's series, *L'Évolution de l'Humanité*, is furnished by Professor L. Robin of the University of Paris, who treats of *La Pensée Grecque et les Origines de l'Esprit Scientifique* (Paris, La Renaissance du Livre, 1924, pp. 500).

The Cambridge University Press publishes an excellent little volume of essays on *The Hellenistic Age*, by Professor J. B. Bury, E. A. Barber, Edwyn Bevan, and W. W. Tarn.

In his thesis for the doctorate in letters at the Sorbonne, E. Albertini examines with care one of the most delicate questions of Spanish history in antiquity and publishes the result under the title, *Les Divisions Administratives de l'Espagne Romaine* (Paris, Boccard, 1923, pp. 138).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Leonard Woolley, *The Excavations at Ur of the Chaldees* (*Antiquaries Journal*, October); S. Gsell, *Tartessos* (*Journal des Savants*, September); G. M. Calhoun, *Greek Law and Modern Jurisprudence* (*California Law Review*, July, 1923); C. Guratzsch, *Eurybiades und Themistokles bei Artemision und Salamis* (*Klio*, XIX. 1); P. Cloché, *Les Dernières Années de l'Athénien Phocion, 322-318 B.C.*, I, II. (*Revue Historique*, November, January); F. Zucker, *Zur Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungsgeschichte des Ptolemäerreichs* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CXXIX. 1); Chr. Dawson, *The Beginning of Rome* (*Sociological Review*, April); J. Carcopino, *L'Intervention Romaine dans l'Orient Hellénique*, II. (*Journal des Savants*, July); W. Schur, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Kriege Corbulos* (*Klio*, XIX. 1); W. Ensclin, *Zur Geschichtschreibung und Weltanschauung des Ammianus Marcellinus* (*Klio*, Beiheft XVI., 1923); A. Alföldi, *Der Untergang der Römerherrschaft in Pannonien* (*Ungarische Jahrbücher*, November, December).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

The series *Les Saints* (Paris, Gabalda) has reached its hundredth volume with a good book on *St. Jean* (the Evangelist), by M. Louis Parot. The editor of the series, M. Henri Joly, gave a history of it in the *Correspondant* for Jan. 10, 1923.

The *Analecta Bollandiana*, XLI. 3-4, contains a discussion of the Acts of St. Marcellus the centurion, by Father H. Delehaye, a Greek life of St. Evaristus, edited by Father Charles Van de Vorst, a discussion by Father Paul Peeters of the Passion of the Seven Sleepers, and an Italian life of St. Catherine of Bologna.

The sixth and seventh volumes of M. Paul Monceaux's *Histoire Littéraire de l'Afrique Chrétienne depuis les Origines jusqu'à l'Invasion Arabe* (Paris, Leroux, 1922, 1923, pp. 409, 295) are published in advance of the fifth. That volume will give the early history of the Donatist controversy; the sixth is occupied with the Donatist writers of St. Augustine's time, the seventh with the saint's controversial writings against them.

The fourth fascicle of the *Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense* is a study of Paul of Samosata by G. Bardy (Paris, Champion, 1924, pp. xii, 582).

About a dozen years ago the (New York) Metropolitan Museum of Art carried out excavations at Thebes which brought to light extensive remains showing the history and life of an ascetic community about 600 A. D.—more than 600 Coptic texts and some 80 Greek. These, edited and translated by W. E. Crum and H. G. Evelyn White, have now been published as vol. I. of *The Monastery of Epiphanius* (Cambridge University Press). The second volume will describe the material remains, and add various essays.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Prosper Alfarcic, *Christianisme et Gnosticisme* (Revue Historique, January); J. Lebreton, *Le Désaccord de la Foi Populaire et de la Théologie Savante dans l'Église Chrétienne du III^e Siècle*, concl. (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, January); Rev. Herbert Thurston, S. J., *Stylites or Pillar Saints* (Studies, December); Karl Bauer, *Zur Verständigung über die Stellung Augustins in der Geschichte* (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XLII. 2).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The Colver Lectures at Brown University in 1923, delivered by Professor Charles H. Haskins, have been brought together in a volume entitled *The Rise of the Universities*. The volume comprises three lectures: the Earliest Universities, the Medieval Professor, the Medieval Student (New York, Holt).

Professor Charles H. Beeson, of the University of Chicago, has in preparation, for students' use, a book of selections in medieval Latin, from authors ranging from Cassiodorus to the Renaissance.

Sir Charles Oman's well-known book on *The Art of War in the Middle Ages* extended originally to 1360. A new edition is now in preparation by Messrs. Methuen, to be published in two volumes, extending to 1485, and including fresh chapters on the military history of the Swiss Confederates, the Ottoman Turks, and the Italian *condottieri*, and on the early employment of artillery.

Attention should be called to the publication of the third volume of Father Nikolaus Paulus's *Geschichte des Ablasses im Mittelalter* (Paderborn, Schöningh, 1923, pp. 560).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: O. Redlich, *Allgemeine Urkundenlehre* (Mitteilungen des Oesterreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung, XXXIX. 4); E. Vacandard, *Le De Officiis Ecclesiasticis de Jean d'Avranches* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); J. W. Thompson, *The Development of the Idea of Social Democracy and Social Justice in the Middle Age* (American Journal of Sociology, XXVIII. 5).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Dr. J. Denucé has brought out (Paris, Leroux), as vol. XXIV. of that publisher's *Recueil de Voyages*, an edition of Pigafetta's *Relation du Premier Voyage autour du Monde par Magellan*, the French text edited from the Paris and Cheltenham manuscripts.

A. Mousset has brought to light *Un Témoin Ignoré de la Révolution: le Comte de Fernan Nuñez, Ambassadeur d'Espagne à Paris, 1787-1791* (Paris, Champion, 1924, pp. x, 357).

J. B. Manger's *Recherches sur les Relations Économiques entre la France et la Hollande pendant la Révolution Française* (Paris, Champion, pp. 170) is a useful volume, based on an analysis of diplomatic correspondence and consular reports.

The English Historical Association has published as *Leaflet No. 56* the papers on the Congress of Vienna in 1814-1815, and the Conference of Paris in 1919, by Professor C. K. Webster of the University of Wales, and Maj. H. W. V. Temperley of Cambridge, which were read at the International Congress of Historical Studies last spring.

The third volume of Alfred Stern's authoritative *Geschichte Europas von 1848 bis 1871*, forming the ninth volume of his *Geschichte Europas seit den Verträgen von 1815 bis zum Frankfurter Frieden von 1871*, generally recognized as the leading work in its field, has now appeared (Stuttgart and Berlin, Cotta, 1923, pp. xix, 390). It covers the period from 1860 through the Seven Weeks' War of 1866.

The Creighton Lecture for 1923, by Dr. George P. Gooch, an illuminating discourse on *Franco-German Relations, 1871-1914*, has been published by Longmans, Green, and Company.

Zum Verständnis der Gegenwärtigen Krisis in der Europäischen Geisteskultur, by R. Seeberg (Leipzig, Deichert, 1923, pp. 136), contains an attempt to estimate the political, social, and spiritual tendencies of the reign of William II.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Abbot Hugh E. Ford, *The Law of the League of Nations* (Dublin Review, January); Inna Lubimenko, *Les Projets d'Alliance Anglo-Russe au Seizième et au Dix-Septième Siècles* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXVIII. 1); W. M. Kozłowski, *Le Dernier Projet d'Alliance Franco-Polonaise, 1792-1793*, I., II. (*ibid.*, XXXVII. 3, 4); F. Charles-Roux, *Une Négociation pour l'Évacuation de l'Égypte; la Convention d'El-Arich, 1800*, II. (*ibid.*, XXXVII. 3); Marc de Germiny, *Les Brigandages Maritimes de l'Angleterre sous le Directoire et le Consulat* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); H. W. V. Temperley, *Princess Lieven and the Protocol of 4 April, 1826* (English Historical Review, January); A. Signoretti, *La Politica Inglese durante la Crisi Risolutiva dell'Unità Italiana* (Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento Italiano, X. 2); F. Salata, *Napoleone III. e Francesco Giuseppe alla Pace di Villafranca: un Carteggio Inedito* (Nuova Antologia, December 16); H. Salomon, *Le Prince Richard de Metternich et sa Correspondance pendant son Ambassade à Paris, 1859-1871* (Revue de Paris, February 15); E. F. Jacob, *Recent World History and its Variety* (History, January).

THE WORLD WAR

La Grande Guerre by General Thevenet, former governor of Belfort (Paris, Colin, 1923, pp. 223), forms one volume of the collection of brief, popular summaries in different fields of knowledge, issued by this publishing house. Insignificant in its account of the diplomatic preparation, the booklet furnishes a clear and convenient narrative of military operations, illustrated by numerous maps. Marshal Foch writes a short preface.

The fourteenth volume of Maurice Barrès's *Chronique de la Grande Guerre* (Paris, Plon, 1924) closes the series.

Fascicle 53 of the *Histoire Générale et Anecdote de la Guerre de 1914* by Jean-Bernard (Paris, Berger-Levrault) covers the period from Hindenburg's strategic retreat to the failure of the Nivelle offensive.

The fourth volume of Field-Marshal Conrad von Hötzendorf's *Aus Meiner Dienstzeit* (Vienna, Rikola) covers a period of three months only, from the Serajevo murder on June 28 to the conclusion of the Austrian retreat in Galicia at the end of September, 1914. The portion relating to the first month, preceding the outbreak of war, is important but less extensive than the documentary record of orders and events at General Headquarters after war began.

Comte R. de Gontaut-Biron, who participated personally in the Franco-English occupation, describes the events that he saw and narrates their historical and diplomatic background in his *Comment la France s'est Installée en Syrie, 1918-1919* (Paris, Plon, 1923, pp. 354).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Émile Bourgeois, *Le Conflit Austro-Serbe et les Origines de la Guerre Mondiale, d'après les Mémoires du Feld-Maréchal Conrad de Hötendörff, 1907-1914* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, October-December); Col. Kirby Walker, *Cavalry in the World War* (Cavalry Journal, January).

GREAT BRITAIN

The Stationery Office has brought out a new (tenth) edition of the *Illustrated Catalogue of Manuscripts and other Objects in the Museum of the Public Record Office*.

A new edition of Dr. F. Pierrepont Barnard's *Companion to English History* (1902) has been prepared by Professor H. W. C. Davis of Manchester, with the assistance of the author, and published under the title *Mediaeval England* (Clarendon Press).

It is a pleasure to know that production of the *Victoria History of the Counties of England*, long interrupted by the war, has now been resumed. The new volume (Yorkshire, North Riding, vol. II.), edited by William Page, completes the historical survey of the North Riding, for which the first volume was published some ten years ago.

Mr. H. Ormsby, lecturer in geography in the London School of Economics, in *London on the Thames* (London, Sifton Praed, pp. xiv, 189) presents a study of the natural conditions that influenced the birth and growth of the great capital.

The Old French poem on the life of St. Thomas of Canterbury by Garnier of Pont-Ste. Maxence, written between 1172 and 1174 and having, besides much literary interest, considerable value as an historical source, has been published in Sweden (*Acta R. Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis*, V.), in an admirable edition by Mr. Emil Wahlberg, *La Vie de Saint Thomas le Martyr par Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence* (Lund, Gleerup, pp. clxxx, 385).

Early Science in Oxford is a work in two volumes by R. T. Gunther (Oxford, 1923, pp. 416, 424) on the instruments used by early men of science at Oxford, and may be obtained from the author, Magdalen College, Oxford. Vol. I. covers chemistry, mathematics, physics, and surveying, and vol. II. astronomy.

Registrum Annalium Collegii Mertonensis, 1483-1521 (Clarendon Press, pp. liv, 544), edited by the Rev. H. E. Salter for the Oxford Historical Society, contains the first half of that register, with a long introduction by the editor, full of interesting facts respecting college manage-

ment and life in the period. Among other facts, light is cast on the parentage of Lambert Simnel; in another passage Hugo Shakspeare, a fellow, is noted as having changed his name to Hugo Sawnder, because the former name "vile reputatum est", "is not considered a name for a gentleman".

The Sources for the History of the Council in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (S. P. C. K., pp. 96), by E. R. Adair, will be found a useful bibliography for students.

Many students of Tudor history would be helped by Mr. Hilary Jenkinson's paper on Elizabethan Handwritings in the *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, new series, vol. III., no. 1.

Messrs. Methuen announce *Social Life in Stuart England*, by Miss Mary Coate, history tutor at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.

Cavalier and Puritan: Ballads and Broad-sides illustrating the Period of the Great Rebellion, 1640-1660, edited by Professor Hyder E. Rollins (New York University Press), comprises seventy-five ballads and verse broadsides taken from the collections in the Bodleian Library, the British Museum, and the Manchester Free Library, of which only a few have heretofore been reprinted.

The Stationery Office has published four more volumes of the *Calendar of Treasury Books*, indicated as four parts of vol. VIII. (pp. xcv, 2687), covering the reign of James II., 1685-1689. It is impossible to review 2000 pages of treasury details, of which the index alone amounts to 500 more, but attention should be called to the introduction by the editor, Dr. William A. Shaw, which constitutes a highly valuable essay on the financial history of the reign.

Mr. William Foster, historiographer to the India Office, who for forty years has been working among the records of the old East India Company, now produces a book on *The East India House* (London, John Lane), in which its history and topography and the personalities and actions of the directors and officials are most interestingly combined.

Lord Ilchester has edited, and Messrs. Thornton Butterworth are publishing, *The Journal of Henry Edward Fox*, afterwards fourth and last Lord Holland; it runs from 1818 to 1830, and has to do with political, literary, and social celebrities of the time.

The Scottish History Society has published an interesting and somewhat important volume of *Foreign Correspondence with Marie de Lorraine, Queen of Scotland, from the Originals in the Balcarres Papers, 1537-1548* (Edinburgh, T. and A. Constable), edited by Marguerite Wood.

The *Scottish Historical Review* for January has an article on the Later Captivity and Release of James I., by E. W. M. Balfour-Melville,

and one on the Lawthing and the Early Officials of Orkney, by J. Storer Clouston, while G. F. Barwick casts light on the Mystery of Mary Stuart, derived from the letters of Pietro Bizari, whose well-informed account of the murder of Darnley he translates from Bizari's *Historia de la Guerra in Hungaria*.

British government publications: *Book of Fees, commonly called Testa de Nevill, re-formed from the earliest MSS.*, part II., 1242-1293, ed. Sir Henry Maxwell-Lyte.

Other documentary publications: *The Chartulary of the Priory of St. Peter at Sele*, ed. L. T. Salzman (Cambridge, Heffer, pp. xxvii, 118).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Walter Clark, *Magna Carta and Trial by Jury* (North Carolina Law Review, December; American Law Review, January-February); J. G. Edwards, *The Battle of Maes Madog and the Welsh Campaign of 1294-1295* (English Historical Review, January); Albert Hyma, *The Disappearance of Serfdom in England, 1300-1500* (Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota, January); H. L. Gray, *The Production and Exportation of English Woollens in the Fourteenth Century* (English Historical Review, January); J. E. Neale, *Peter Wentworth* (*ibid.*); A. J. D. Farrer, *The Relation between English Baptists and Anabaptists of the Continent* (Baptist Quarterly, January); W. T. Whitley, *Continental Anabaptists and Early English Baptists* (*ibid.*); N. J. Silberling, *Financial and Monetary Policy in Great Britain during the Napoleonic Wars* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, February); E. Daniels, *Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield*, III. (Preussische Jahrbücher, October).

IRELAND AND THE DOMINIONS

(For Canada, see p. 651; for India, see p. 636.)

The house of Murray will shortly publish *Edward Bruce's Invasion of Ireland*, by Miss Olive Armstrong, based on original sources, including many unpublished manuscripts.

Dr. George O'Brien has edited, and the Society of Antiquaries of Ireland has published in a little volume, *Advertisements for Ireland, being a Description of the State of Ireland in the Reign of James I. contained in a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin, 1923), a document of much importance, which the editor attributes to Sir Henry Bouchier, afterwards fifth earl of Bath.

Rev. H. L. L. Denny has compiled for the Archaeological Group of the County Kerry Society a *Handbook of County Kerry Family History, Biography*, etc. (pp. 46), full of useful detail for the genealogist.

The third volume of *The Empire at War*, which is being edited for the Royal Colonial Institute by Sir Charles Lucas, is announced by the Oxford University Press; it will relate to the efforts of Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific Islands.

Lord Buxton, governor-general of the Union of South Africa from 1914 to 1920, is about to publish (Murray) a memoir of General Botha, with whom he was of course intimately associated.

History of the White Australia Policy, by Myra Willard, appears as University of Melbourne *Publications*, no. 1 (Melbourne University Press). It is a study of the development of the policy through its various stages, from the first rise of the labor problem to the present day. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century there were several experiments in the importation of non-Europeans as indentured workers; but after the gold rush there were isolated and temporary checks placed upon Chinese immigration, and later concerted action resulting in uniform restrictive measures. The development of a definite "White Australia" policy took place during the decade 1891-1901, and involved classes of Indian and Japanese laborers as well as Chinese. One section of the work (40 pp.) is devoted to a history of the Kanaka system of labor (indentured labor from the Pacific islands), which was brought to an end in the early years of this century. The author discusses at some length the reasons for the policy and its political, social, and racial aspects.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. W. Greig, *The First Australian War-ship* (Victorian Historical Magazine, September).

FRANCE

General reviews: Rodolphe Reuss, *Histoire de France, la Révolution* (Revue Historique, January); H. Sée, *Le Travail d'Histoire en Bretagne, de 1886 à 1923* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, December).

A third edition of Martin Saint-Léon's valuable *Histoire des Corporations de Métiers* (Paris, Alcan, 1923, pp. 876) has now appeared.

An important regional study of economic conditions in a French province during the Middle Ages is published by a French scholar under the pseudonym "Soulgé" and with the title *Essai d'Introduction à la Publication de Terriers Foréziens: le Régime Féodal et la Propriété Paysanne* (Paris, Champion, 1923, pp. 405).

The house of Boccard (Paris) has undertaken a collection of French medieval writings, adapted to the needs of those unable to read the original texts. The series receives the title, *Poèmes et Récits de la Vieille France*, and is edited by A. Jeanroy. The first two volumes have now been published. They are Ernest Langlois's version of *Le Jeu de la Feuillée et le Jeu de Robin et Marion* (pp. xxxi, 152), by Adam le Bossu, and G. Michaut's rendering of two celebrated thirteenth-century tales, *Le Roi Flore et la Belle Jeanne; Amis et Amiles* (pp. 182). These skillful adaptations furnish useful illustrative material to those interested in the study of old France.

AM. HIST. REV., VOL. XXIX.—41.

The recent numbers of the *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire Moderne* contain the following articles: (November) "Genève et la Politique du Cardinal Fleury", by M. Corbaz, "Les Turcophiles du XVI^e Siècle", by M. Lajusan; (December-January) "Bibliographie et Sources de l'Histoire des Institutions Militaires de l'Ancien Régime: État de la Question", by Georges Girard, "Les Troubles Agraires en Haute-Bretagne en 1790", by H. Sée, "Historiographie de Pascal", by E. Esmonin, "Autour de l'Évolution de notre Doctrine de Guerre au XIX^e et au XX^e Siècle", by Lt.-Col. Mayer; (February) "Les Origines du Vote à la Majorité dans les Assemblées Politiques", by Henri Pirenne.

The Société d'Histoire Moderne announces that it is about to commence the publication of its *Bibliographie Retrospective des Travaux publiés entre 1867 et 1899 sur l'Histoire Moderne de la France*, the compilation of which was commenced by the late M. Saulnier and has been completed by M. Martin of the Bibliothèque Nationale, under the general supervision of M. Pierre Caron and the executive committee of the society. The bibliography will be published in five parts, the first of which will appear in the near future. The price of the first part will be 30 francs. Orders should be placed at once with the secretary of the society, M. Léon Cahen, 9bis Rue Lalo, Paris XVI., as the edition will be limited.

In the *Histoire de la Nation Française* series, edited by Gabriel Hanotaux, the well-known historian Louis Madelin furnishes a *Histoire Politique de 1515 à 1804* (Paris, Plon, 1924).

An important addition to the great collection, *Les Sources de l'Histoire de France*, whose third section deals with the seventeenth century (1610-1715), is the volume on *Journaux et Pamphlets*, prepared by Émile Bourgeois and Louis André and published by Picard (Paris, 1923, pp. vi, 388).

The Duc de La Force presents in his *Curiosités Historiques* (Paris, Paul, 1923, pp. 259) four studies in varying periods of French history. They cover the embassy to negotiate the marriage contract of Louis XIII., the imprisonment of Conti and his friends during the Fronde, the end of Napoleonic rule in Holland, and certain letters of French princesses at the time of the Restoration, found in the archives of the author's family.

The twenty-second volume of the *Recueil des Instructions données aux Ambassadeurs et Ministres de France depuis les Traités de Westphalie jusqu'à la Révolution Française* bears the title *Hollande, 1698-1789* (Paris, Bocard, 1924, pp. 517).

Documents relating to the seizure of Strasbourg by Louis XIV. are published by Louis Maurer under the title *L'Expédition de Strasbourg en Septembre, 1681: Correspondance Officielle tirée des Archives de la Guerre* (Nancy, Berger, 1923, pp. 276).

Gabriel Malès et la Reconstitution Financière de la France après 1789, by Albert Duchene, with preface by L. Madelin, the well-known biographer of Fouché (Paris, Plon, 1923, pp. iv, 319), is rather a good biography of a secondary personage than an important contribution to the financial history of the Revolution.

An able, technical study of an episode in the history of the French marine has been made by Lieutenant G. Douin in *La Campagne de Bruix en Méditerranée, Mars-Août 1799*, published under the direction of the French navy's historical service (Paris, Société d'Éditions Géographiques, Maritimes, et Coloniales, pp. vii, 230).

The Comité des Travaux Historiques, Section d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, has published as vol. IX. of its series "Notices, Inventaires et Documents", *L'Introduction du Machinisme dans l'Industrie Française*, by the late Charles Ballot, compiled from the author's notes and manuscripts by Claude Gével, with an introduction by Professor Hauser, and a biographical notice by Élie Halévy.

Charles Pouthas has written a study of *Guizot pendant la Restauration, 1814-1830*, together with a critical essay on the sources and bibliography of his subject (Paris, Plon, 1923).

Messrs. Constable announce the *Secret of the Coup d'État*, containing hitherto unpublished correspondence between 1848 and 1852 of Prince Louis Napoleon, the Comte de Morny, the Comte de Flahault, and others, edited with an introduction by Lord Kerry and a prefatory essay by Philip Guedalla.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. Schwarz, *Der Investiturstreit in Frankreich* (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XLII. 2); Vicomte de Noailles, *La Cour de France après la Victoire de Rocroi* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); Abbé A. Dégert, *Le Mariage de Gaston d'Orléans et de Marguerite de Lorraine*, concl. (Revue Historique, September); L. Madelin, *Le Premier Son de Cloche de la Révolution, 1743-1754* (Revue des Deux Mondes, January 15); H. Sée, *Les Origines de l'Industrie Capitaliste en France à la Fin de l'Ancien Régime* (Revue Historique, November); Ph. Sagnac, *Les Origines de la Révolution Française: l'Influence Américaine* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, January); M. B. Garrett, *The Convocation of the States General, July 5-September 25, 1788* (Howard College Bulletin, December); A. Mathiez, *La Dictature Économique du Comité de Salut Public* (Annales Révolutionnaires, November); E. Driault, *Les Historiens de Napoléon: Albert Sorel* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, January); P. Bliard, *Bonaparte et les Insurgés de l'Ouest, 1799-1804* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); Comte Molé, *Souvenirs*, I.-III. (Revue de Paris, December 15, January 1, 15); Baron de Méneval, *Lettres de la Reine Hortense et du Prince Louis-Napoléon, 1824-1836*, concl. (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXVII. 3); E. d'Hauterive, *Correspondance In-*

édite de Napoléon III. et du Prince Napoléon, I.-III. (Revue des Deux Mondes, December 15, January 1, February 1).

ITALY AND SPAIN

General reviews: F. Schneider, *Neuere Dante-Literatur*, III. (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXIX. 1); G. Solari, *Il Pensiero Politico di Dante: Rassegna Critica delle Pubblicazioni del Secentenario* (Rivista Storica Italiana, October); G. Bourgin, *Histoire d'Italie; Période du Risorgimento, 1919-1921*, concl. (Revue Historique, November).

M. Ferdinand de Navenne, for twenty years in the diplomatic service at Rome, has completed his studies on the history of the Farnese Palace, now the seat of the French embassy in that city, by a work entitled *Rome et le Palais Farnèse pendant les Trois Derniers Siècles* (Paris, Champion, 1923, 2 vols.).

An important manual of *Paleografía Española* (Madrid, 1923, pp. vii, 371, and album of 67 plates) has been put forth by Father Zacarías G. Villada, S.J., at the instance and under the auspices of the Centro de Estudios Históricos.

No. 73-75 of the *Boletín del Centro de Estudios Americanistas de Sevilla* continues Father Pérez's account of the Mercedarians in America, and Señor Rubio's treatise on the *piloto mayor* of the Casa de la Contratación, the present portion beginning the biographies of the *pilotos*—in this issue Vespucci, Diaz de Solís, Sebastian Cabot, Alonso de Chaves, and Rodrigo Zamorano.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. La Mantia, *La Sicilia e il suo Dominio nell'Africa Settentrionale dal sec. XI. al XVI.* (Archivio Storico Siciliano, XLIV.); F. Scandone, *Il Giacobinismo in Sicilia, 1792-1802* (*ibid.*); F. Salata, *La Questione Romana e la Triplice Alleanza secondo Nuovi Documenti Austro-Germanici* (Nuova Antologia, March 1, 1923); H. N. Gay, *Garibaldi e Filippo Colonna alla Battaglia di Velletri, 19 Maggio, 1849* (*ibid.*).

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

General reviews: G. Allemang, *Courrier Allemand*, II. [books in German, 1919-1922, on German and Austrian history] (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); W. Erben, *Fichte-Studien* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXI. 3).

In the *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Hist. Kl., XXXI. (Munich, G. Franz), Professor Karl von Amira has a substantial and learned volume tracing the whole history of the systems of punishment among the Germanic peoples, *Die Germanischen Todesstrafen*.

Georg Loesche's latest work, *Die Böhmischen Exulanten in Sachsen* (Vienna, Klinkhardt, 1923, pp. xii, 585), is an able study of Bohemian

Protestantism during the Thirty Years' War and the Counter-Reformation down to the time of Joseph II. It contains much hitherto unpublished material.

H. Schulz continues his Fichte studies by editing a volume of correspondence, in part hitherto unpublished, of great value for students of the man and his times. It is entitled *Fichte in Vertraulichen Briefen seiner Zeitgenossen* (Leipzig, Haessel, 1923, pp. xi, 275).

O. Kämmer's popular history of the German people is continued by the publication of a volume entitled *Der Werdegang des Deutschen Volkes: Zeitalter Bismarcks und Wilhelms II.* (Berlin, de Gruyter, 1923).

Still further additions, of importance, to Bismarck literature will be found in *Bismarcks Englische Bündnispolitik* (pp. 144), by Dr. Hans Rothfels, and *Bismarcks Sturz und die Parteien* (pp. 206), by Dr. Wilhelm Mommsen, both published in Stuttgart and Berlin by the Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. Further books on the same period, published by the same house, are the *Letzte Römische Briefe, 1882-1894* (pp. 212) of Kurd von Schlözer, *Zwölf Jahre am Deutschen Kaiserhof* (pp. 250), by Count Robert Zedlitz-Trützschler, formerly court marshal to William II., and the third volume, 1900-1904 (pp. 276) of the *Denkwürdigkeiten des Generalfeldmarschalls Alfred Grafen von Waldersee*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. W. Thompson, *German Medieval Expansion and the Making of Austria* (Slavonic Review, December); *id.*, *Henry the Lion and the Political Theories of the Guelphs in Feudal Germany* (Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire, October, 1923); E. Ottenthal, *Sieben Unveröffentlichte Königsurkunden von Heinrich IV. bis Heinrich VII.* (Mitteilungen des Oesterreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung, XXXIX. 4); Elisabeth Wagner, *Luther und Friedrich der Weise auf dem Wormser Reichstag von 1521* (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XLII. 2); Arthur Weber, *Maria Theresia auf dem Pressburger Reichstag* (Ungarische Jahrbücher, December); F. Meinecke, *Hegel und die Anfänge des Deutschen Machtstaatsgedankens im 19. Jahrhundert* (Zeitschrift für Politik, XIII. 3); V. Gittermann, *Die Geschichtsphilosophischen Anschauungen Bismarcks: ein Versuch* (Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik, LI. 2); Rear-Adm. C. F. Goodrich, U. S. N., *America's Part in Founding the German Navy* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, February); G. Steinhauser, *Verfallstimmung im Kaiserlichen Deutschlands* (Preussische Jahrbücher, November).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

Of late the Dutch Historical Institute in Rome has devoted itself mainly to matters in the history of art. The third volume of its *Mededeelingen* (the Hague, Nijhoff, pp. xlv, 248, with 36 excellent plates)

has articles on the portraiture of the Dutch Pope Adrian VI.; on Etruscan art, by Dr. H. M. R. Leopold; on the temple of Roma and Augustus on the Acropolis of Athens, and the Erechtheum, by G. A. S. Snijder; etc. Students of the history of science will be interested in the evidence which Dr. A. H. L. Hensen brings forward, from a letter written in 1609 by Cardinal Bentivoglio in the Low Countries to Cardinal Scipione Borghese, concerning the invention and earliest use of the telescope.

In the series of volumes of documents on Dutch commercial policy in the nineteenth century, edited by Professor N. W. Posthumus, the third volume has just been published, *Onderhandelingen met Pruisen en andere Deutsche Staten tot aan de Oprichting van het Deutsche Tolverbond, 1814-1833* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1923, pp. xx, 420). A valuable monograph in the same field is Dr. C. Smit's *De Handelspolitieke Betrekkingen tusschen Nederland en Frankrijk, 1814-1914* (*ibid.*, pp. viii, 148).

Édouard Michel, the author of *Hotels de Ville et Beffrois*, continues his study of Belgian architecture and institutions in his *Abbayes et Monastères de Belgique* (Brussels, Van Oest, 1923).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

General review: Karl Völker, *Zur Geschichte der Reformation in Polen* (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XLII. 1).

The work by Professor Rostovtzeff of the University of Wisconsin, entitled *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, furnishes the starting-point for a considerable discussion of "Le Monde Scythe" by G. Radet in the *Journal des Savants* for November.

K. Waliszewski adds to his preceding works on the Empresses Elizabeth and Catherine, an important study of Alexander I., *La Russie il y a Cent Ans: le Règne d'Alexandre I.* (Paris, Plon, 1923, pp. 465).

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

General review: *Bibliographische Notizen und Kleinere Mitteilungen* [includes sections on ancient history and geography and on early church history, 1914-1921] (Byzantinische Zeitschrift, XXIV. 1 and 2).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Maurice Pernot, *La Nouvelle Turquie, I., Du Sultanat à la République* (Revue des Deux Mondes, January 15).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

Recent studies in the history of Oriental philosophy and political theory are the following: R. Grousset, *Histoire de la Philosophie Orientale; Inde, Chine, Japon* (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1923, pp. 376); P. L. Vaidya, *Études sur Āryadeva et son Catuḥcataka* (Paris, Geuthner, 1923, pp. 177); Kālidās Nāg, *Les Théories Diplomatiques de l'Inde Ancienne et l'Arthaśāstra* (Paris, Jouvé, 1923, pp. 147).

The Clarendon Press has brought out a new edition of the late Vincent A. Smith's *The Oxford History of India*, originally published in 1912, revised by correction of errors and by the bringing in of some additional information.

In the October number of the *Journal of Indian History* the longest article is one on Rajendra, king in the eleventh century of the Chola kingdom on the Coromandel coast, but the most interesting and important is that of Professor Jadunath Sarkar, the first of a series, on the Early Life of Bahadur Shah I., son and successor of Aurangzeb.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has brought out *War and Armament Taxes of Japan*, by Ushisaburo Kobayashi, D. C. L. The work is divided into two parts: first, an historical survey of taxes for war and armament from the Restoration (1867) to the present time; and second, a study of the economic effects of taxes. These studies are followed by an appendix of statistical tables, and by another presenting an examination of recent problems relating to indirect taxes, especially excises.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Rev. J. Goyens, O.F.M., *Trois Lettres Autographes du B. Richard de Ste. Anne martyrisé au Japon le 10 Septembre 1622* (Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, XVI.).

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

Les Almohades, Histoire d'une Dynastie Berbère (Paris, Challamel, 1923, pp. xxix, 160) was intended by its author, René Millet, resident general at Tunis about 1894, to form one chapter of a projected history of Morocco. It is published posthumously under the editorship of his brother, Philippe Millet, the well-known foreign editor of *Le Petit Parisien*, who has likewise recently died.

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

Among recent accessions of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress are to be noted: the McElroy collection of the papers of President Grover Cleveland, comprising more than 100,000 items; the papers of Secretary Richard Olney; the papers of Albert Fink, head of the Trunk Line Pool; and the diary kept by Richard Smith of the Continental Congress, 1775-1776, printed in the first volume of this journal. The Abraham Lincoln Papers, by gift of Hon. Robert Todd Lincoln, have become a permanent possession of the Library, with restrictions, however, from present use. These are the papers used by Messrs. Nicolay and Hay, and have been increased by the J. P. Morgan and the Harvard Library photostats, the Department of Justice originals, and the letter to Major Anderson after the evacuation of Fort Sumter. Another accession is the Harrison collection of letters and documents relating to

the Civil War. A revised list of manuscripts in public and private collections is being prepared by the Library at the suggestion of the American Historical Association.

Tome XV. of the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris* opens with a commemorative article upon the late Henry Vignaud. Among the articles having an historical character the chief are a paper by Lt.-Col. Louis Langlois on two maps by Oronce Fine, 1531, 1536; one by Dr. Paul Rivet on the pre-Columbian jewelry of the Antilles and the neighboring mainland regions; and a body of information about the Choctaws in 1729-1732, drawn off by Baron Marc de Villiers from the travel journals of Régis du Roullet.

The publishing house of Franckh in Stuttgart begins an extensive illustrated publication on the Indians, by Hermann Dengler, entitled *Indianer*, by bringing out *Die Indianerstämme des Ostens und der Prärien Nordamerikas*, 96 illustrations from original drawings or other pictures of the period from 1590 to 1850. Volumes on the Indians of the West and the Rocky Mountains, of Mexico, Central America, and South America will follow.

Bulletin 80 of the Bureau of American Ethnology is a monograph on *Mandan and Hidatsa Music*, by Frances Densmore. By way of elucidation of the music some account is given of the customs, legends, and characteristics of these tribes. *Bulletin 81* is *Excavations in the Chama Valley, New Mexico*, by J. A. Jeancon, and is chiefly devoted to description of the ruin and of the artifacts, together with needful interpretation.

The Buffalo Historical Society has in press a volume of Indian folklore tales and legends, prepared by Arthur C. Parker. Mr. Parker, who is himself in part of Seneca ancestry and speaks the Seneca language, has been gathering this material through several years from the Reservation Indians in western New York. The book, which will constitute vol. XXVII. of the society's *Publications*, will be illustrated from drawings made by the Indians themselves.

Professor Carl Russell Fish has brought out a fourth, enlarged edition of his *American Diplomacy* (Holt).

The Institute for Government Research has issued, in its series of *Studies in Administration*, *The Development of National Administrative Organization in the United States*, by Lloyd M. Short; and, in the series of *Service Monographs*, *The United States Employment Service: its History, Activities, and Organization*, by Darrell H. Smith (Johns Hopkins Press).

A survey of the writings of British travellers concerning the United States from Washington's administration to the present day, by Allan Nevins, has been published by Henry Holt and Company, with the title *American Social History as recorded by British Travellers*.

In the September number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* is found the first installment of a paper entitled *Trials and Triumphs of Catholic Pioneers in Western Pennsylvania*, as revealed by their Correspondence, translated and arranged by the Rev. Felix Fellner, O.S.B. In the same number is an article by Sister Mary Eulalia Herron on the Work of the Sisters of Mercy in the Archdiocese of St. Louis, Missouri, 1856-1921.

In the *Bell Telephone Quarterly* for January an account of the American Telephone Historical Collection is given by its custodian, Mr. W. C. Langdon. The collection is a new undertaking, only in its beginning, but is already an interesting example of what can be done to illustrate and promote the history of a great industry.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Walter A. Powell is the author of a work entitled *The Pilgrims and their Religious, Intellectual, and Civic Life*, which includes a chapter devoted to colonial Virginia (Dover, Del., the author).

Controversies between Royal Governors and their Assemblies in Northern American Colonies, by John F. Burns, has been privately printed by the author, Villanova College, Villanova, Pa.

The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century, in two volumes, the work of the late Professor H. L. Osgood, has now been brought out by the Columbia University Press (see vol. XXVIII., p. 400, of this journal).

Mrs. James F. Willard has prepared, and the Houghton Mifflin Company will publish in the autumn, a book of great interest for the history of the earlier years of the American Revolution, consisting of a large body of hitherto unknown letters found in the contemporary British newspapers, of both London and the provinces.

Privateers of '76, from the pen of Ralph D. Paine, is from the press of the Penn Publishing Company.

Captain Edward Richardson, a Memorial, with Genealogical Records of some of his Ancestors and Descendants, by Elizabeth W. V. Radcliffe, is privately printed. The subject of the memorial (1789-1872) was commander of vessels upon many voyages, subsequently a shipping merchant with extensive sailings, and founder of philanthropic institutions. The volume includes a number of selections from his letters, written from various parts of the world.

What Happened during One Man's Lifetime, 1840-1920, by Willard A. Burnap, is characterized on the title-page as "a review of some great, near great, and little events". The author has grouped his experiences and observations under four general headings, namely: the Passing of the Indian, the Settling of the West, the Freeing of the

Negro, and Some Findings of Three Wars, the essential part of the latter section being an account of his experiences in the Civil War. The author having died just when the book had been completed, the preface is written by F. R. Clow. The publisher is W. L. Burnap, Fergus Falls, Minn.

A recent volume of papers from the pen of George Haven Putnam is entitled *Some Memories of the Civil War, together with an Appreciation of the Career and Character of Major General Israel Putnam, Leader in the Colonial Wars and in the American Revolution* (G. P. Putnam's Sons).

Henry B. Rankin, whose *Intimate Character Sketches of Abraham Lincoln* has been brought out by the firm of Lippincott, was for a time connected with the law firm of Lincoln and Herndon, and therefore knew Lincoln personally.

A. B. Ostrander, formerly of Company B, second battalion 18th Infantry, U. S. A., has related his experiences in a volume entitled *Three Years in the U. S. Regular Army, 1864-1867: a Story of the Plains* (the author, 501 West 182d Street, New York City).

A Forgotten Chapter in our Naval History: a Sketch of the Career of Duncan Nathaniel Ingraham, Commander U. S. N. and Commodore C. S. N., is a short monograph by Francis B. C. Bradlee (Salem, Essex Institute).

The Ku Klux Klan: a Study of the American Mind, by John M. Mecklin, includes a history of the klan as well as a study of the causes of its rise (Harcourt). Another book on the subject is *Authentic History of the Ku-Klux Klan, 1865-1877*, by Susan L. Davis (S. L. Davis and Company, 305 Woodward Building, Washington).

The First Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, November 15th-18th, 1881, by Dr. Alfred P. James, of the University of Pittsburgh, has been issued as a reprint from the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*. It is characterized on the title-page as "a study in contemporary local newspapers as a source".

A Life of Woodrow Wilson, by Josephus Daniels, is announced for early publication by the John C. Winston Company.

Hon. William C. Redfield, secretary of commerce in the Cabinet of President Woodrow Wilson, has just published a volume of reminiscences, chiefly of war-time matters, entitled *With Congress and Cabinet* (Doubleday, Page, and Company).

G. P. Putnam's Sons announce for immediate publication a biography of *Calvin Coolidge*, by M. E. Hennessey.

Business Fluctuations and the American Labor Movement, 1915-1922, appears among the *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*.

LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

Mrs. Harriette M. Forbes has privately printed, in a quite small edition, *New England Diaries, 1602-1800; a Descriptive Catalogue of Diaries, Orderly Books, and Sea Journals* (pp. viii, 439), the fruit of prodigious labor. It records with minute care some 2000 diaries, indicating the place and parentage of the diarist, his dates of birth, marriage, and death, the period which the diary covers and its characteristics, the ownership and place of deposit of the manuscript, and the data respecting its publication in case it has been published. The book, prepared with consummate care, will be a most useful instrument of research in New England history. It is to be obtained from the compiler, 23 Trowbridge Road, Worcester, Mass.

The October number of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* contains a memoir of President Harding, from the pen of Lawrence Brainerd; an article on the Early New England Coolidges and some of their Descendants, by George W. Chamberlaine; and a continuation of Mrs. Frank M. Angellotti's paper on the Polks of North Carolina and Tennessee.

The Massachusetts Historical Society has published the fifth volume of the *Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts*, covering the four sessions of the General Court of 1723-1724, and giving many details of the war with the eastern Indians, taxation, and the troubled relations between the legislative body and Governor Shute. The society has also issued a handsome volume by Dr. Malcolm Storer, *Numismatics of Massachusetts*, primarily a catalogue of the medals in the collection of the society, but extending beyond that. The society's collection of coins and medals is a large and remarkable one. The present volume lists and describes, but in an alphabetical order of towns of origin, more than 2000 general and personal medals of Massachusetts, with many excellent illustrations. The October serial of the *Proceedings* contains a paper by Nathan Matthews on the Early Files of the County Courts of Massachusetts, some notes on Levi Allen of Vermont, by James B. Wilbur, and a bibliographical essay on Benjamin Harris, printer and bookseller, by Worthington C. Ford. The November serial is chiefly occupied with two substantial papers, one by Captain T. G. Frothingham on the Peninsula Campaign of 1862, and one by Hon. Charles Warren on Why Jefferson Abandoned the Presidential Speech to Congress. Mr. Ford adds an account of the First Separate Map of Pennsylvania, 1681, lately discovered by him in the John Carter Brown Library.

Vol. XXIII. of the *Publications* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts (1923, pp. xii, 469-848) continues from vol. XXII. the records of

the First Church of Plymouth, presenting records of church meetings and transactions from 1795 to 1858 and records of baptisms, marriages, and deaths, admissions and dismissals, from earlier dates. Elaborately indexed (126 pp.), these volumes afford a fairly complete picture of New England Congregationalist (Unitarian) church life in an old town in the nineteenth century. There are excellent illustrations, chiefly portraits of pastors.

A History of the Massachusetts Medical Society, with brief Biographies of the Founders and Chief Officers, 1781-1922, by Walter L. Burrage, is privately printed in Norwood, Mass., by the Plimpton Press.

The January number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* contains the following articles, all continued: Blockade Running during the Civil War, by Francis B. C. Bradlee; Salem Vessels and their Voyages, by George G. Putnam; Salem and the War of 1812, by William D. Chapple; and Forty Years ago in Salem, being extracts from the diary of Francis H. Lee.

The *Medford Historical Register* has in the December number an article by Hall Gleason, on Old Ships and Ship Building Days, and an account, by Moses W. Mann, of Medford Journalism.

Bits of Harvard History, by Samuel F. Batchelder, is characterized as "based on contemporary records, fugitive pieces, official documents, and personal recollections" (Harvard University Press).

The Connecticut Historical Society has recently received as gifts two unique manuscripts. One of them is the humble address of the Governor and Company of Connecticut to the new king, George III., expressing condolence upon the death of his grandfather, George II., and congratulations upon his own accession to the throne. The document is in the autograph of Governor Thomas Fitch and signed by him. The other manuscript, which bears the signature of George III. and is dated Oct. 31, 1760, relates also to his accession, and is an instruction to the Governor and Company directing the necessary changes in the prayers, etc., for the royal family.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The October number of the *Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association* contains a paper by Dorothy K. Cleaveland on the Trade and Trade Routes of Northern New York from the Beginning of Settlement to the Coming of the Railroad. The article is accompanied by two maps, the one illustrating early immigration and trade routes of northern New York, the other the industrial growth of that region.

In the January number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* appears a paper by Royden W. Vosburgh on the Settlement of New Netherland, 1624-1626.

The City History Club of New York has prepared and published an admirable little volume entitled *Landmarks of New York: an Historical Guide to the Metropolis* (pp. 261), edited by Dr. A. Everett Peterson, accurately and very intelligently written, presenting all the details which the student of the city's history would desire, in respect to all five boroughs, and illustrated by some forty excellent pictures and forty maps. Such a book will surely be a valuable aid to the study of local history and to the promotion of civic patriotism.

The January number of the *New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin* contains an account of the Lost Fort Constitution and Constitution Island, by William L. Carver.

Dodd, Mead, and Company have brought out a reprint of W. W. Campbell's *Annals of Tryon County* (New York, 1831).

The New Jersey Historical Society has lately received three lists of names of persons who paid quitrents in New Jersey during the latter part of the seventeenth century; they embrace the names of most of the landholders of that period and give the location and extent of their holdings. Mr. A. V. D. Honeyman, editor of the society's publications, is now preparing for the press vol. XXXII. of the *New Jersey Archives*, which will be the third volume of abstracts of New Jersey wills, extending from 1750 to 1760. The articles in the January number of the society's *Proceedings* include a paper on the Emancipation of Slaves in New Jersey, by D. H. Gardner, and one on the Aboriginal Inhabitants of Monmouth County, by Professor Charles A. Philhower.

The *Vineland Historical Magazine* contains in its January number an article by George Hampton on Places and Place Names of Cumberland County.

The January number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* contains a paper by Joseph S. Clark, jr., on the Railroad Struggle for Pittsburgh: Forty-three Years of Philadelphia-Baltimore Rivalry, 1838-1871, and continuations of the studies, by C. P. B. Jefferys and Asa E. Martin, respectively, of the Provincial and Revolutionary History of St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia, and of Lotteries in Pennsylvania prior to 1833.

Among the *Papers* read before the Lancaster County Historical Society, November 2, is an Historical Sketch of Rural Field Sports in Lancaster County, by Herbert H. Beck; those of December 7 relate to visits to Lancaster by William H. Harrison, Zachary Taylor, David Crockett, and Sam Houston, all by William F. Worner; those of January 4 include lists of Lancaster County contributors to the relief of Boston in 1774, and accounts of four land surveys in Lancaster County (early eighteenth century), compiled by H. Frank Eshleman.

The contents of the January number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* include a brief paper on Francis Parkman, by Professor John W. Oliver; one by Edmund H. Bell entitled Echoes of Early Brownsville; a letter from James Bowman, 1854, relative to Episcopalianism in Early Western Pennsylvania; and a continuation of the account, by Professor Alfred P. James, of the First Convention of the American Federation of Labor (Pittsburgh, November, 1881).

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The Teachers College of Columbia University has brought out, as *Contributions to Education*, no. 138, *Parish Education in Colonial Virginia*, by Guy F. Wells, Ph.D. As the parish itself in Virginia was an adaptation of the English parish system, which the author describes, so the parish educational practice followed in its general characteristics that of England, and had as its primary purpose the provision of facilities for the instruction of the poor. This might take the form of establishment and support of a school, provision of a school building, or payment of tuition in private schools. Fundamental in the system was compulsory apprenticeship, and next to it was training in the parish workhouse. Outside, however, the educational system which rested on legal provision were the endowed schools, but it is the author's view that they were "not numerous enough to reach any considerable share of the poor children, and they were not managed in such a way as to realize their full possibilities".

The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* begins in the January number the publication of Virginia Council Journals, 1726-1753, from photostatic copies of the originals (which are in the Public Record Office, London), contributed by Mr. Fairfax Harrison. The text of the Journals is supplemented by extensive editorial notes and related materials, including a number of letters (1726-1731) of William Byrd the younger to Charles Boyle, earl of Orrery, and to the latter's son. Mr. David I. Bushnell, jr., contributes to this number of the *Magazine* some account of the Proposed Expedition against Detroit, 1778. The Kennon Letters (1809) are continued.

Mr. Fairfax Harrison contributes to the January number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* an account of the Northern Neck Maps of 1737-1747, namely, the Mayo map (1737), that of Warner (1737), and that of Jefferson and Brooke (1747). The originals of these maps were uncovered by Mr. Harrison a short while ago in the Public Record Office in London, and photostats have since been procured and deposited in the Virginia Historical Society, the Virginia State Library, and the Library of Congress. This number of the *Magazine* contains also the Acts of the General Assembly, January 6, 1639/40, of which Hening's *Statutes* has only an abridgment. The text is from a copy made by Conway Robinson in 1829 from an early record, which was destroyed by fire in 1865.

The January number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* contains an address by Hon. R. Walton Moore, M.C., on President Monroe and his Message; an article by Fairfax Harrison, entitled Brent Town, Ravensworth, and the Huguenots in Stafford; a biographical sketch, by John G. Paxton, of Zachariah Johnston (1742-1800), including two letters (1789, 1790) from George Mason and one (1790) from Thomas Jefferson to Johnston; and an account of the Grayson family, particularly of Col. William Grayson, aide-de-camp to Washington, and later member of the Continental Congress.

A Frenchman in Virginia, being the Memoirs of a Huguenot Refugee in 1686, "translated by a Virginian", and privately printed in an attractive little volume of 146 pages, presents the narrative of one Durand, author of one of the rarest of Americana, *Voyages d'un François Exilé pour la Religion, avec une Description de la Vergine et Marilan* (the Hague, 1687). He lived chiefly at Rosegill on the Rappahannock, but travelled about in adjoining counties, and gives entertaining descriptions of what he saw, to which the translator adds useful notes.

The *North Carolina Historical Review*, a quarterly published by the North Carolina Historical Commission, made its first appearance in January. The initial article is a memorial address on Walter H. Page, delivered by Dr. Albert Shaw, in Raleigh, Dec. 7, 1923. Other contents are an account of the War Savings Campaign in 1918, by G. T. Stephenson, and an installment of the Diary of Colonel Joseph H. Pratt, commanding the 105th Engineers, A. E. F. The Diary begins May 18, 1918. There is a department of Historical News, as well as one of book reviews.

Professor R. D. W. Connor of the University of North Carolina has prepared a series of *Studies in the History of North Carolina: a Program for Women's Clubs*, which has been issued as University of North Carolina *Extension Bulletin*, vol. III., no. 3.

The December number of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* contains a study, by Col. Alexander R. Lawton, of the Supreme Court in United States History, being essentially an examination of the recently published work of Charles Warren bearing that title; a history of the Populist Movement in Georgia, by Dr. A. M. Arnett; and an account of a Spanish Settlement in Carolina, 1526, the short-lived colony of San Miguel de Guadalupe established by Ayllon, probably at the mouth of Cape Fear River.

Those who are familiar with the writings of Judge A. B. Longstreet (1790-1870), particularly his *Georgia Scenes in the First Half-Century of the Republic* (New York, 1840), will welcome a life of him by John D. Wade, which Macmillan has just published. It is entitled *Augustus Baldwin Longstreet: a Study of the Development of Culture in the South*.

WESTERN STATES

The December number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains the following articles: the Industrial Armies and the Commonwealth, by Donald L. McMurry; the Development of Chicago as a Center of the Meat Packing Industry, by Howard C. Hill; the Louisiana-Texas Frontier during the Burr Conspiracy, by Isaac J. Cox; the Pro-slavery Background of the Kansas Struggle, by James C. Malin; and (in the section of Notes and Documents) Some Correspondence of Robert Dale Owen, by Louis M. Sears.

The October number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* contains a biographical sketch of President Harding, by C. B. Galbreath; one of Daniel J. Ryan, from the same pen; an account of Cornstalk, the Indian Chief, by Mrs. Orson D. Dryer; and a paper by Dr. T. C. Mendenhall, entitled the Town of Tallmadge: the Bacons and Shakespeare. The Bacons were David Bacon, missionary and colonist, founder of the town of Tallmadge, and his daughter Delia Bacon, author of *The Philosophy of the Plays of Shakespeare Unfolded*.

In the December number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* are found some reminiscences of Dr. G. W. H. Kemper, under the title My Childhood and Youth in the Early Days of Indiana; an account, by Paul T. Smith, of Indiana's Last October Campaign; and a brief article on Col. Francis Vigo, by A. B. McKee. The March number reprints, from a newspaper of 1869, an account, by Perret Dufour, of the early days of that interesting Swiss settlement, Vevay, in Switzerland County; Phases of Southeastern Indiana History, by Vida Newsom; and an entertaining article on Hoosier Pioneers, by Joseph Walker.

The Indiana Historical Commission inaugurated last November the publication of the *Indiana History Bulletin*, which is to appear monthly.

The *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1922 contains, besides the record of official proceedings, the following historical papers: the Promotion of Historical Study in America following the Civil War, the annual address, delivered by Professor James A. Woodburn; a Neglected Episode in the Life of Abraham Lincoln, by James Shaw; On and about the Old National Road in the Early Fifties, by Charles B. Johnson; James T. Gifford and the Founding of Elgin, Illinois, by Stella D. Ainsworth; the Moravian Settlement in Illinois, by Rev. Albert P. Haupt; the French in Illinois, by Francis X. Busch; Early Marriages in Putnam County, compiled by Mrs. George Spangler; and the Preliminary Treaty of 1765 between Col. George Croghan and Pontiac, by Rose M. Scott.

The contents of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* bearing the date October, 1922-January, 1923 (double number) include a paper by D. N. Blazer on the History of the Underground Railroad of McDonough County, Illinois; one by Jacob W. Myers on the Beginning

of German Immigration in the Middle West; an account, by Noah C. Bainum, of General Grant's First Day's March; the Civil War Diary of Patrick H. White, contributed by J. E. Boos; the Diary of Asahel North on a Journey from Vermont to the Illinois Territory in 1816; and biographical sketches, by James Shaw and C. G. B. Goodspeed respectively, of Albert J. Hopkins (1846-1922), member of Congress, 1885-1903, and United States senator, 1903-1909, and William H. Holden (1843-1922), a prominent lawyer of Chicago.

The *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* bearing the date July-October, 1923 (double number), is devoted to a commemoration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the discovery of the Mississippi River by Marquette and Jolliet. The principal contents of the number are: the Discovery of Iowa, by Bruce E. Mahan; Father Marquette, by Ruth B. Middaugh; Louis Jolliet, by John E. Briggs; Pointing the Way, by Laenas G. Weld; Who Discovered the Mississippi? by Rev. H. S. Spalding, S. J.; the Discovery of the Mississippi River, by Francis B. Steck, O. F. M.; an extract from Father Marquette's Journal, under the title Two Hundred and Fifty Years Ago; and James Marquette, the Soldier of the Cross, by Rev. Christopher J. Kohne, S. J.

The *Chicago Historical Society Bulletin* for January contains a paper on Father Allouez; also a brief discussion, by Miss Caroline M. McIlvaine, of the functions of historical societies in the making of good citizens.

In the January, 1922, number of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* Mr. Thomas R. Hay, using the title "Who is James K. Polk?", discusses Polk's career on the basis of Professor McCormac's biography, and Dr. Albert C. Holt continues his studies of the Economic and Social Beginnings of Tennessee. There is also a reprint, in part, of a paper by Elizabeth D. Putnam on Governor Joseph Duncan of Illinois, which appeared in the *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society for 1919.

The Michigan Historical Commission has brought out *Michigan Biographies*, vol. I. (A-K). The biographies are of persons who have held official position in the state, from members of Congress and elective state officers, on the one side, to the boards of agriculture and education, on the other, and are for the most part such brief sketches as are requisite in such a manual.

The principal contents of the January number of the *Michigan History Magazine* are: Place Names of Berrien County, by George R. Fox; a biographical sketch of Major-General Frank D. Baldwin (1842-1923), by Sue I. Silliman; and Impressions of Detroit, 1837, reprinted from Mrs. Jameson's *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*.

The Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library has acquired the Heman Ely Papers, relating to the Western Reserve and

the Genesee Land Company; also the John Francis Hamtramck Papers, which include correspondence and accounts, 1794-1803, and papers relating to the settlement of the Hamtramck estate by William Henry Harrison, 1803-1820. The *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet*, vol. II., no. 1-2 (September-November, 1923), prints some selections from the papers of John Askin (or Erskine), a merchant of Detroit, including four letters from Askin (1786, 1793), and one to him, the latter from Isaac Todd, dated at London Apr. 23, 1793. There are also some extracts, from the *Detroit Gazette* of Dec. 15 and 22, 1820, of articles on the Indian trade, presumed to have been written by Lewis Cass.

The December number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* includes some Experiences of a Wisconsin Educator, being selections from a manuscript of Josiah L. Pickard; the fifth of Dr. Joseph Schafer's studies of the Yankee and the Teuton in Wisconsin ("Social Harmonies and Discords"); and a sketch, by John G. Gregory, of John Jay Orton, a lawyer and business man of Milwaukee, together with some account of his papers, now in possession of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. In the section of Documents are found a hitherto unpublished letter of Henry Clay (written from Ashland, Oct. 30, 1841, addressed to Hon. N. P. Tallmadge), and a letter (Aug. 16, 17, 18, 1847) and diary of Johann Friedrich Diedrichs describing the journey from Elberfeld, Germany, to Manitowoc, Wis. This diary is continued in the March number, which also contains Dr. Schafer's paper on Francis Parkman, mentioned on a previous page as read at the Columbus meeting of the American Historical Association; the Story of the Propeller *Phoenix*, by William O. Van Eyck; a history of Albion Academy, by J. Q. Emery; and a Wisconsin Anabasis (Tonty, 1680), by Miss Louise P. Kellogg.

The February number of the *Minnesota Historical Bulletin* contains a biographical sketch of the late Senator Knute Nelson, by Jacob A. O. Preus, and two letters of Nelson, 1911, bearing upon his personal history. It records, among recent accessions of manuscripts in the Minnesota Historical Society, the papers of Gen. Charles P. Adams, relating to the Civil War period; account books of Norman W. Kittson, pioneer and fur trader; and copies (either made or making) of some important bodies of materials pertaining to missionary activities among the Minnesota Indians. These include letters of Rev. Sherman Hall, diaries and papers of Rev. Edmund F. Ely, and diaries of Rev. James Peet. More recently the society has come into possession of a letter of J. N. Nicollet, Sept. 27, 1836, the earliest known letter written from the site of the city of Minneapolis.

The Government of Special Charter Cities in Iowa, by George F. Robeson, has recently been distributed to members and official depositories of the State Historical Society of Iowa. The volume contains nearly three hundred pages dealing with the charters granted to Iowa

cities and towns by special acts of the legislature. A seventh volume in the *Iowa Chronicles of the World War* will soon be issued by the society, *The Sale of War Bonds in Iowa*, by Nathaniel R. Whitney; it deals chiefly with the Liberty Loan drives in the state. The society also has in press a *History of the Sixth Iowa Infantry*, by Henry H. Wright. The society's *Bulletin of Information No. 11* is a paper by Clark Wissler entitled *State and Local Archaeological Surveys: Suggestions in Method and Technique*.

The February number of the *Palimpsest* contains three discussions of the career of the late Senator John P. Dolliver.

The October number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* contains a single article, a summary, by John E. Briggs and Jacob Van Ek, of the Legislation of the Fortieth General Assembly of Iowa (pp. 170). Articles in the January number are: the Granger Movement in the Middle West, with special reference to Iowa, by W. A. Anderson; the Framers of the Constitution of 1857, by Erik M. Eriksson; and the Location of County Seats in Iowa, by Jacob A. Swisher.

The April (1923) number of the *Annals of Iowa* contains a character sketch of Judge Edward Johnstone (1815-1891), written more than thirty years ago by Dr. J. M. Shaffer, now supplemented by an outline of his career from the editorial pen; the Diary of Lieutenant John S. Morgan (Company G, 33d Iowa Infantry), Jan. 1-Aug. 10, 1865; and a letter of Hiram W. Studley, Company D, 7th Infantry, describing a march to Utah in 1859.

The Missouri Historical Society *Collections*, vol. IV., no. 4, includes a paper by Frederick W. Lehmann on Edward Bates and the Test Oath; a study, by Stella M. Drumm, of the career of Samuel Hammond (1757-1842); and some letters of the early nineteenth century from the society's manuscript collections, namely: one from Meriwether Lewis to Amos Stoddard, dated at Fort Pickering, Chickasaw Bluffs, Sept. 22, 1809; one from James Howe to Frederick Bates, secretary of the Territory of Louisiana, written from Nashville, Sept. 28, 1809, and bearing upon the death of Meriwether Lewis; one from William Clark, dated at River a Dubois, Jan. 15, 1804; another, dated at St. Charles, May 21, 1804, and written to Major William Croghan; and one from Jefferson to Nathaniel Burwell, Mar. 14, 1818, on the subject of "female education".

The Missouri State Board of Agriculture has published, as its *Bulletin* for November, 1923, *A History of Shorthorns in Missouri prior to the Civil War*, by Mr. John Ashton, of value to all students of the livestock industry in the United States.

The contents of the January number of the *Missouri Historical Review* include some Personal Recollections of Thomas H. Benton, by Daniel M. Grissom; Some Aspects of the Santa Fé Trail, 1848-1880

by Ralph P. Bieber; the Holt County Sentinel, a Chronicle of Local History, by Elizabeth Spencer; the Missouri Pacific, 1879-1900, by R. E. Riegel; the fourth article on the New Journalism in Missouri, by Walter B. Stevens, and other continuations.

Articles in the January number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* are: the Location of La Salle's Colony on the Gulf of Mexico, by Herbert E. Bolton; St. Denis's Second Expedition to the Rio Grande, 1716-1719, by C. C. Shelby; and the second installment of the Expedition of Pánfilo de Narvaez, by Oviedo, edited by Harbert Davenport.

Elton R. Shaw is the author of a monograph entitled *The Conquest of the Southwest*. It is mainly a study of the colonization of Texas (Berwyn, Ill., Shaw Publishing Company).

The University of Texas has acquired a transcript, in nearly 2000 pages, of the *Actas*, or journals, of the legislature of Coahuila and Texas from August, 1824, to May, 1835. The originals, which were never published, were located by Professor E. C. Barker some two years ago in the congressional archives at Saltillo. It includes brief summaries of debates; and is particularly valuable for the constitutional and legal history of Mexican Texas. From 1824 to 1827 the legislature was in continuous session as a constituent congress.

A History of Texas Baptists, comprising a Detailed Account of their Activities, their Progress, and their Achievements, by J. M. Carroll, edited by J. B. Cranfil, is published in Dallas by the Baptist Standard Publishing Company.

In the July-September number of *Nebraska History and Record of Pioneer Days* appears an account, by S. D. Fitchie, of the Fight for Prohibition in Nebraska.

Articles in the June number of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* are: the Spirit of Soonerland, by Everett E. Dale; the Last of the Cherokees in Texas, by Dr. Albert Woldert; the Progress and Possibilities of Mississippi Valley History, by Solon J. Buck; Comanche Civilization, with the History of Quanah Parker, by Daniel A. Becker; and Reminiscences of the Washita Campaign and of the Darlington Indian Agency, by John Murphy.

The first two numbers (November and January) of the *Colorado Magazine*, published by the State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado, have appeared. The *Magazine*, which is in charge of an editorial board, consisting of E. M. Ammons, W. N. Beggs, and E. A. Kenyon, officers of the society, is to be a bimonthly of about forty-eight pages, containing articles, notes, reviews, etc., within the society's scope. The November number contains a tribute, by E. M. Ammons, to the late Thomas F. Dawson, the society's curator of history, who was to have been the first editor of the *Magazine*, and a paper, by J. A. Jeancon

and Frank H. H. Roberts, entitled Further Archaeological Research in the Northeastern San Juan Basin of Colorado during the Summer of 1922. The latter paper is continued in the January number, which contains also, among other things, a brief article entitled a Side Glance at Early Colorado History, by A. J. Flynn, and one entitled the Old-Time Prospector, being the record of an interview with Dan O'Connell by Thomas F. Dawson, in April, 1923.

The January number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* contains an article by Herbert H. Gowen entitled the Tercentenary of a Great Failure (the English factory of Hirado, Japan); Journals of the Indian War of 1855-1856, kept by Robert M. and William C. Painter, edited by J. Orin Oliphant; a biographical sketch of the Rev. Frederick H. Balch (1861-1891), by Della M. Coon; and the Reminiscences of Mrs. Delia B. Sheffield, edited by William S. Lewis. Mrs. Sheffield's husband was a sergeant of Company H, 4th United States Infantry, which was ordered to Fort Vancouver, Oregon, in 1852, and the reminiscences pertain to the journey thither, by way of Panama, and life at the post. Capt. U. S. Grant and other officers who were later to become famous appear in these recollections.

The December number of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* contains a paper by Stella M. Drumm, entitled More about Astorians; an account of the unveiling of the memorial stone on the grave of Peter Skene Ogden, including addresses by F. V. Holman, T. C. Elliott, and J. D. Chitwood; and, in the section devoted to documentary materials, some letters of Thornton Grimsley to the Secretary of War relative to a proposed expedition to Oregon in 1841, and the concluding installment of the Diary of Rev. George Gary.

Samuel C. Damon's *A Trip from the Sandwich Islands to Southern Oregon and Northern California, 1849*, has been brought out as *Magazine of History*, extra no. 97 (Tarrytown, William Abbatt).

The California State Historical Association has inaugurated the publication of the *California History Nugget*, "devoted to the story of the Golden West", and intended to be a popular magazine for schools and the general reader. It is to appear monthly. Included in the first number (January) is the Golden Magnet, the story of the discovery of gold in California, and a sketch of John Bidwell, a California pioneer.

CANADA

The *Canadian Historical Review* for December has an interesting essay on Parkman, by Professor George M. Wrong; one on Gladstone's Views on British Colonial Policy, by Dr. Paul Knaplund of the University of Wisconsin; a brief note on "Mearns and Miramichi; an Episode in Canadian Economic History" (the story of the firm of Rankin, Gil-mour, and Company), by Professor C. R. Fay of Toronto; and a dis-

cussion of Sir Guy Carleton's conduct in relation to his first council, 1766, by Professor A. L. Burt of Alberta.

On occasion of the transfer to Toronto, from the Devonshire estate of Col. John Graves Simcoe, of the colors of the regiment of Queen's Rangers commanded by him in the war of the American Revolution, the chief librarian of the Public Library of Toronto, Dr. George H. Locke, prints a pamphlet on *The Queen's Rangers* embracing not only the Revolutionary regiment of that name but the regiment of similar designation formed by Simcoe when governor of Upper Canada, and a third, raised on the occasion of the Rebellion of 1837.

Pioneer Problems in Upper Canada, with special reference to the opinions of Richard Cartwright, by R. W. Cumberland, is *Bulletin* no. 46, of the Departments of History and Political and Economic Science in Queen's University.

The Public Reference Library of the city of Toronto puts forth, as the second of a series of contributions to the bibliography of Canada (the first having been a catalogue of its books and pamphlets printed in Canada before 1837) a pamphlet of 81 pages entitled *The Rebellion of 1837-38: a Bibliography of the Sources of Information in the Public Reference Library*, etc. Some 1600 items are noted, most of them, however, being newspaper articles of the years 1832-1839.

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

Students of the history of our Southwest as well as of Mexico will be glad to know of *Conquistadores y Pobladores de Nueva España* (Madrid, 1923, two vols., pp. 257, 356), by Francisco A. de Icaza, characterized in the subtitle as an autobiographical dictionary, but consisting of a series of lists and memorials and other documents in which those who first came to New Spain have described themselves or are described.

Among the recent publications of the Mexican Ministry of Foreign Relations are to be noted a *Noticia Histórica de las Relaciones Políticas y Comerciales entre México y el Japón*, by Señor Angel Núñez Ortega, and *Incidente Diplomático con Inglaterra en 1843*, by Señor Antonio de la Pena y Reyes.

An interesting glimpse of a German industrial colony in the Western hemisphere is afforded by H. Kruse's publication, *Deutsche Briefe aus Mexiko, mit einer Geschichte des Deutsch-Amerikanischen Bergwerksvereins, 1824-1838* (Essen, Bädeler, 1923, pp. 16, cix, 304).

A biographical dictionary entitled *Los Fundadores de Bogotá* (Bogotá, Imprenta Nacional, 1923, pp. xiii, 442) has been published as vol. XXXI. of the *Biblioteca de Historia Nacional*.

La Céramique Ancienne du Pérou (Paris, Albert Morancé), by R.

d'Harcourt and Madame M. d'Harcourt, describes and reproduces a large number of interesting ceramic objects in a handsome quarto of 48 pages of text and 65 plates, of which 29 are in color. A similar album of *Les Tissus Indiens du Vieux Pérou*, by the same authors, is in preparation.

The house of Victoriano Suárez, Madrid, has lately published the fourth volume of the learned Father Pablo Pastells's documented *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia del Paraguay*; it will perhaps be remembered that that province included Paraguay, Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, Bolivia, and Peru.

We have already mentioned in these pages the first issue in the series, *Biblioteca Argentina de Libros Raros Americanos*. It is now announced, by the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas in Buenos Aires, that the second will be *Leyes y Ordenanzas nuevamente hechas por Su Magestad para la Gobernación de los Indios, en Valladolid MDCIII.*, edited by Señor Diego Luis Molinari, and the third, *Tratados* of Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, with an introduction by Señor Jorge Cabral Texo.

Political journalism in Buenos Aires began with the Revolution, and one of its most vehement manifestations was *El Censor*, rival of the *Gazeta de Buenos Ayres* in 1812. *El Censor* and the editors Bernardo Monteagudo and Vicente Pazos Silva, typical journalists of the time, are carefully studied by Senor Juan Canter, jr., in an elaborate article in the *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas*, nos. 13-16.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Carlos León, *The Discovery of America by Spain: Advantages conferred by it on Civilization* (Inter-America, English, December); J. García Icazbalceta, *Juan de Zumárraga and the Precolumbian Records of México*, I. (*ibid.*, February); J. S. Bassett, *The Men who thought out the Revolution*, II., *James Otis* (Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine, February); Alfred Dumaine, *Le Comte de Vergennes et l'Indépendance des États-Unis* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXVII. 4); J. C. Fitzpatrick, *Washington's Election as First President of the United States* (Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine, February); D. H. Bacot, *The South Carolina Middle Country at the End of the Eighteenth Century* (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); C. O. Paullin, *Beginnings of the United States Naval Academy* (Proceedings of the United States Naval Institute, February); M. Casenave, *La Doctrine de Monroe* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXVIII. 1); E. Catellani, *Il Centenario della Dottrina di Monroe* (Nuova Antologia, December 1); W. S. Myers, *Know Nothing and Ku Klux Klan* (North American Review, January); J. W. Gerard, *The Statesmanship of Woodrow Wilson* (Current History, March); H. Gaillard de Champris, *Monseigneur de Laval et le Pouvoir Royal* (Canada Français, December); A. Hasenclever, *Die*

Waldläufer Kanadas im 17ten Jahrhundert (Preussische Jahrbücher, November); R. Ricard, *Le Problème de la Découverte du Brésil* (Bulletin Hispanique, XXV.); J. T. Medina, *The Origin of the Printing Press in Buenos Aires* (Inter-America, English, February); D. L. Molinari, *La Expedición Libertadora al Perú y los Principios de Derecho Público Coetáneo* (Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, no. 11-12).

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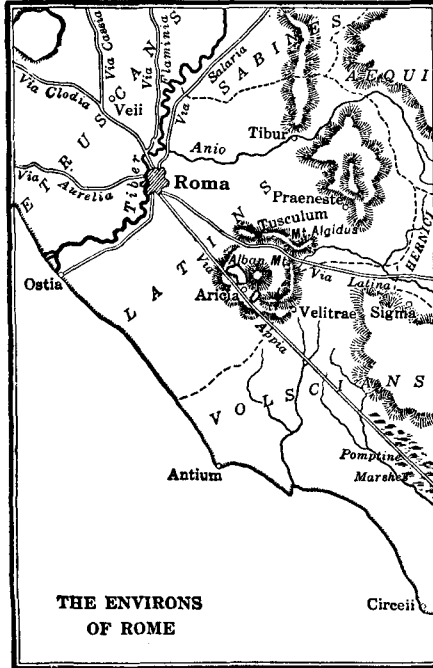
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